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Democracy In Indonesia
by
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It is to my mother that I dedicate this work.

I. INTRODUCTION

A. GENERAL

On August 17, 1945, after 350 years as a Dutch colony, Indonesians made their Declaration of Independence. In the face of Dutch intransigence, the country experienced a war of independence lasting four long years. Finally, with the intervention of the United Nations and the direct help of the United States of America, the Netherlands was persuaded to give Indonesia her freedom. Sovereignty was handed over in December 1949.

Since the declaration of independence the nation has had only two presidents. The first president was Soekarno who ruled from 1945-1957. In 1966, Soeharto followed in office and continues today as president of the archipelago country. Since independence, the country has experienced three different forms of government. From 1950 to 1957 the state was organized as a parliamentary democracy, from 1957 to 1967 by a "Guided Democracy," which in turn was transformed in 1967 into what is known as "Democracy Pancasila." The first two types of state organization were developed by ex-president Soekarno. After the failure of both forms of democracy president Soeharto

developed Democracy Pancasila which was based on the State Ideology of Indonesia.¹

Until 1965, president Soekarno was the unchallenged leader of the nation and had been named "president for life." In the war of independence Soekarno was a valiant leader who made a positive and definite contribution to the nation, not only in the war of liberation but also in the formation of a new republic. He had unified the far-flung archipelago nation and instituted the use of a single language in a country with 250 distinct languages. Soekarno also placed Indonesia in the forefront of efforts to establish the newly emerging nations of the developing world in a powerful position in international affairs. Despite these successes, Soekarno's preoccupation with the revolution and his neglect of the ill managed economy, along with constant changes in the cabinet (12 cabinets in 10 years), drove the country ever deeper into debt, causing run-away inflation and a slow but steady erosion of popular support for his regime. All these contributed to the failure of Indonesian parliamentary democracy. Additional factors included the dissatisfaction of the Indonesian Armed Forces(the ABRI) and the inability to integrate the diverse cultures of Indonesia into a smoothly functioning political system.

¹See Section B of Chapter V.

When the last cabinet of Ali Sastroamidjojo failed on March 14, 1957, Soekarno changed the form of government to what was termed "Guided Democracy." But Soekarno made other mistakes under this system. His neglect of the ABRI was a major political miscalculation. An abortive coup of 30 September 1965 in which six generals were killed accelerated Soekarno's fall, and marked a turning point in the history and form of government in Indonesia. Indonesia's steady drift toward communism and its ever-closer partnership with the People's Republic of China were halted and reversed after the fall of guided democracy. During the guided democracy period there was a problem of finding a suitable position for the ABRI, as well as for Islam. The country also experienced difficulty in finding an acceptable constitutional structure. Faced with these problems, Soekarno was unable to maintain his position as "president for life."

A special meeting was held in March 1967 to resolve the situation. The chairman of the congress and the chairman of the committee demanded for a "new order." Soeharto was appointed president after lengthy discussion, and democracy pancasila was launched under Soeharto's leadership. As a first step, Soeharto addressed the dissatisfaction of the ABRI. He assured the position of the armed forces in both society and government. The ABRI became a socio-political force which assumed a definite role in running the government and in shaping the destiny of the nation. He then dealt with economic

problems and questions of religion in state authority. The most important innovation of democracy pancasila was the way it matched the political system with the social culture of Indonesia.

B. DEMOCRACY

Despite the antiquity of the concept of democracy, widespread adherence to democracy as a form of government is only about one hundred years old. Many political observers and practitioners have defined democracy in different ways. The roots of the term are derived from two Greek words; 'demos' and 'kratos'; meaning people and rule respectively. From the evolution of democracy as a form of government many governments have applied it in different ways. The most striking aspect of democracy is that nearly everyone says that he/she is a democrat and that his/her form of government is democracy, regardless of whether he/she maintains a left, a right, or a center perspective. But what they say and what they practice are often at odds. Indonesia also has her own form of democracy. From this it can be said that democracy, in a pure sense, is a difficult form of government to create, to define, and to practice and sustain. Every nation modifies and adjusts its political systems according to its needs, political culture, and national interests.

Several forms of democracy are discussed in this thesis. Special emphasis is given to the evolution of classical democracy in Greece between 500-800 B.C., and on Madisonian democracy in the United States of America. Contemporary variants of democracy are also discussed.

C. ORGANIZATION

For the brevity and clarity of this study I have divided the thesis into seven chapters.

In the second chapter I discuss and analyze the concept of democracy itself with an emphasis on the evolution of democracy, and on contemporary variants of democratic systems. In chapter III a brief overview of the history of Indonesia is provided. This will help the reader understand the following sections of the thesis where I explain different views of democracy as practiced in Indonesia. Chapter IV discusses the major causes of failure of parliamentary democracy, and the period of guided democracy. In this chapter I discuss pertinent socio-cultural aspects of Indonesia, non-adherence to democratic principles, external factors and the problem of leadership during the period of crisis. Following a discussion of the failure of Soekarno I describe and discuss the characteristics of "democracy pancasila" as developed and practiced by Soeharto. I also explain briefly how democracy

pancasila fits into the culture of Indonesia. Here lies the key to the longevity of democracy pancasila under Soeharto.

In chapter VI a discussion is presented on the prospects of democracy pancasila. Based on this discussion and explanation, in Chapter VII conclusions are drawn about democracy in Indonesia.

D. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The purpose of this thesis is to discuss the various aspect of pancasila democracy as the current system of Indonesian government. Also to examine the prospects of this special variety of democracy from the perspective of Indonesian political format. In doing so, I will compare pancasila democracy with two other varieties of democracy, namely the parliamentary democracy and the guided democracy during the era of Soekarno along with the major causes of their failures.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

A. DEMOCRACY DEFINED

However old the concept of democracy may be, the widespread acceptance of democracy as a form of political organization is only about a hundred years old. Political theorists and philosophers have defined democracy in many different ways. One of the most valuable definitions of the term was provided by the 16th President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln. In his Gettysburg Address he defined democracy as "government for the people, by the people and of the people."

The word 'democracy' came into the English language in the sixteenth century from the French word 'demokratie,' while the roots of this word stem from the Greek term 'demos,' meaning people, and 'kratos' meaning rule.² Thus the term democracy denotes that form of government where the people rule. This is exactly how Lincoln used the term.

But there are difficulties associated with the wording of this apparently simple definition. To begin with, the root 'demos,' 'the people,' opens up a number of problems, such as

²See David Held, Models of Democracy, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1987, p.2.

"(a) Who are to be considered 'the people?' (b) What kind of participation is envisaged from them? (c) What conditions are assumed to be conducive to participation? (d) Can the disincentive and incentives, or costs and benefits, of participation be equal?" And regarding the second term 'kratos' or rule, a number of questions arise, including "(a) How broad or narrow is the scope of rule to be construed? (b) What is the appropriate field of democratic activity? (c) If 'rule' is to cover 'politics,' what is meant by this? (d) Does it cover (1) law and order ? (2) relations between states? (3) the economy? (4) the domestic or private sphere?"³

The different positions on these issues determine whether democracy means a form of political life where citizens themselves control government and self regulation, or a means to legitimize peoples' decision through elected representatives.

Many forms of democracy have prevailed at different countries in different times. One of the striking facts about democracy is that in today's world nearly everyone says that he is democratic, regardless whether his views are on the left, center, or the right. Political regimes of almost all kinds can claim to be democratic. But what these countries say and do are often different. Political thinkers from ancient

³For relevant details and descriptions of different models and analysis see: David Held, Models of Democracy, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1987.

Greece to today have been critical of the theory and practice of democracy. It is a difficult form of government to create and to sustain. In the following sections several major models of democracy will be discussed in brief.

B. CLASSICAL ATHENIAN DEMOCRACY: ATHENS

1. The Evolution of Classical Democracy

In the history of civilization, Athens is the pioneer of classical democracy. From 800 BC to 500 BC many philosophers lived in Athens and their contributions to democratic theory and practice is noteworthy. In this period urban patterns of civilization formed. Early cities were dominated by tribal hierarchies.⁴ These soon grew into city states, such as Athens, which flourished between 800 - 500 BC. City states collapsed around 500 BC due to pressure from autocrats who represented the wealthy and powerful. The clan and tribal order gave way to more tyrannous regimes, in which stability was maintained by coalitions of wealthy clans. With the expansion of the population the struggle for tribal rights increased. A growing number of independent citizens enjoyed a substantial increase in their economic welfare with the expansion of slavery. The introduction of slavery in mining,

⁴For details of ancient Greek urban civilization , see Anderson, P., Passage from Antiquity to Feudalism, London, Verso, 1974, pp.29-44, as referred by David Held, op. cit., pp.14-15.

agriculture and other industries, contributed to a sudden fluorescence of urban growth. A clear line of demarcation was drawn between the 'insiders' (the citizens of Athens) and the 'outsiders' (slaves and other categories of people, especially immigrants, and foreigners).

In the mid sixth century BC., many of these city states developed constitutions, each with its own idiosyncrasies. This emerged through a process of continuous change over many generations.

2. Political Ideals

The development of democracy in Athens has formed a central source of inspiration for modern political thought. Its political ideals-equality among citizens, liberty, respect for the law and justice have shaped political thinking in the west.⁵ The modern liberal notion of human beings as 'individuals' with 'rights' cannot, however, be traced to Athenian democracy.

The ideals and aims of Athenian democracy can best be cited in the famous funeral speech attributed to Pericles,⁶

Let me say that our system of government does not copy the institutions of our neighbors. It is more the case of our being a model to others, than of our imitating anyone else. Our constitution is called a democracy because

⁵David, Held, op. cit., pp.15-16.

⁶Pericles was a prominent Athenian citizen, general and politician.

power is in the hands not of a minority but of the whole people, ... and, just as our political life is free and open, so is our day to day life in our relations with each other Here each individual is interested not only in his own affairs but in the affairs of the state as well: even those who are mostly occupied with their own business are extremely well-informed on general politics- this is a peculiarity of ours: we do not say that a man who takes no interest in politics is a man who minds his own business; we say that he has no business here at all.⁷

In the above paragraph, we can see that Pericles describes a community where citizens is expected to participate in the creation of democracy. The 'people' have sovereign power to engage in legislative and judicial functions.

Athenian democracy was marked by a strong dedication to the republican city state and the subordination of private life to public affairs. Yet private life and public affairs were intertwined in Greek democracy. In the Greek view, "the virtue of the individual" was the same as the "virtue of the citizen."⁸ The law of the state was the law of the citizen. As Sabine states:

the Athenian did not imagine himself to be wholly unconstrained but he drew the sharpest distinction between the restraint which is merely subjection to another man's arbitrary will and that which recognizes in the law a rule

⁷Quoted from the Persian Funeral Oration, in Thucydides, The Peloponnesian War, in Held, D., op. cit., pp. 145-147.

⁸Athenian Democracy was marked by a general commitment to the principle of "civic virtue." Literature on Athenian democracy can be found in Jaeger in Lee, D., Introduction to Plato, the Republic, Harmondsworth : Penguin, 1974, p.32 in David Held, op. cit., pp.23-28.

which has a right to be respected and hence is in this sense self imposed.⁹

On the whole, Athenians were proud of their free and open political life.

3. The Exclusivity of Athenian Democracy

Athenian democracy is distinguished from other forms of democracy by its exclusivity. Only a small percentage of the population was eligible for citizenship. In this era peoples were engaged in activities like administration, military service, law making, ceremonies, and festival, as well as surveillance and control. But the political culture was an adult male culture because only male citizens over 20 were eligible for citizenship; women had no political rights. In addition to women, there were large numbers of Athenians who were also ineligible for citizenship, for example, immigrants, settlers, and slaves. The estimated proportion of slaves to free citizen in Periclean Athens was about 3:2, where the slave population was about 80,000 - 100,000.¹⁰ Political rights were restricted to people of equal status,

⁹Sabine, G.H., A History of Political Theory, London : George G. Harrap, 1963, p.18.

¹⁰" The Greeks" by Andrew, 1967 quoted by Held, D., op., cit., p.23.

obviously to the citizen born and raised in Athens. Therefore it can be said that democracy in ancient Athens rested on an undemocratic base.

4. Criticism

Democracy as practiced in ancient Athens was criticized by philosophers of the period such as Plato. In his book The Republic, democracy meant something more than a vote on periodic occasions. In Plato's view, political control must be placed in the hands of a minority.¹¹ He argues against four types of political system : tyranny, a system of rule modeled on Sparta's military aristocracy; oligarchy, a system in which the wealthy rule society; democracy, rule by the people, and tyranny, rule by a single dictator. Plato experienced these at a time when there was considerable deterioration in leadership, morality and the law. He viewed democracy as a system in which all men are treated as equals, whether they were equal or not, and one in which every individual was free to do as he liked.¹² "All men" in this period were all male citizens over 20. The claim of political equality was furthermore inconsistent with the maintenance of authority, order and stability. According to

¹¹Finley, M.I., Politics in the Ancient World Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1983, p.9.

¹²Plato, The Republic, Harmondsworth : Penguin, 1974, pp. 375-76 in David Held, op. cit., p.29.

Plato when all individuals are free to do as they choose, the system will create a diverse society of chaos and insubordination. In short

the minds of citizens become so sensitive that their determination to have no master, they disregard all laws...Any extreme is likely to produce a violent reaction...so from extreme of liberty one is likely to get an extreme of subjection ¹³

For Plato, tyranny was not a solution to democracy. He makes it clear that it is not enough for the zoo-keeper to know how to control "the beast" by studying its moods, wants and habits. Rather, it is important to know which of the creature's tastes and desires are "admirable or shameful, good or bad, right or wrong." Plato believed that "virtue is knowledge," and from this belief he argued that the problems of the world could not be solved until philosophers rule, because they (the philosophers) were educated, trained and knowledgeable. Only then would there be a "rule of wisdom." And only through this process could the "good life" for the individual and the society of large could be ensured.

The classical model of democracy and its critics have both had an impact on western democracy. Classical democracy serves as the inspiration for democratic thinkers; its critics serves to warn of the dangers of democratic political life.

¹³As Plato is quoted by David Held op. cit., p.30.

C. PROTECTIVE DEMOCRACY

As Aristotle wrote in his book Politics, the citizen of ancient Greece was someone who participated in public affairs by holding office and sitting in judgement. The classical definition of citizenship suggests that the ancient Greeks would have found it hard to identify citizens in a modern democracy, except perhaps as representative and office holders. In addition, the classical Greek idea of citizenship would have found resonance in a few communities before, during or after its initial elaboration in Greece. In ancient Greek ideology, human beings were citizens of the political order, and dutiful subjects of a ruler.

1. The Eclipse and re-emergence of *homo politicus*

The antithesis of *homo politicus* is the *homo credens* of the Christian faith. With the introduction of christianity in politics, secular considerations were banished from the life of rulers and the ruled, thus shifting authority to 'other worldly representatives.'¹⁴ Christianity did not ignore questions about the rules and goals of productive human life. Indeed it has been suggested that the Christian affirmation of the equality of man before God was the only basis on which egalitarian values could be preserved for

¹⁴These other worldly representatives are the priests or other knowledgeable people in religion.

society as a whole in a world of minimal economic surplus where people lived at or below the subsistence level.¹⁵ But Christianity was also used to justify a number of inegalitarian institutions, including slavery and serfdom.

To believers the history of the church was 'the march of God in the world.' In this view, believers should not focus on the problems of temporal life; rather they should desire for the heavenly city. The distinction between secular and spiritual jurisdictions was re-examined by Aquinas (1226-1274). He tried to integrate the works of Aristotle and the teachings of christianity. He came up with the idea that monarchy was the best form of government, with the provision that monarchs should not have unlimited authority. Since the monarch did not lose authority over religion, the church could stand over rulers. Hence it can be said that the idea of limited or constitutional government was anticipated by Aquinas.

Historical changes in medieval notions of politics were contributed to by many factors, including (a) struggles between monarchs and the church over the domain of authority,

¹⁵Christians certainly did not ignore questions about the rules and goals of human life, i.e. the productive life. In some communities Christianity was imposed. For the ethics of the ancient Greeks, see: McIntyre, A., A Short History of Ethics, Macmillan, New York, 1966., pp.114-120 in David Held, op. cit., pp.36-37.

(b) revolutions of peasants against landlords, (c) cultural renaissance, and (d) religious strife.¹⁶

In the new doctrine it was conceived that individuals were responsible before God alone and the sovereign judge of all conduct. The individual was directly responsible for the interpretation and enactment of God's will. Therefore, the individual was separated from the institutional support of the church. From this results the concept of secular form of government was developed keeping religious practice apart from politics.¹⁷

2. Emergence of Political Thought

During the medieval period, two central political concepts became important, namely 'Civic humanism' or 'Classical republicism.' The pioneer of these thoughts was Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527). Machiavelli's thought had on impact on the political theory of the ancient world as well as in that of the new European order. The second political

¹⁶Arguments for the superiority of ecclestial power are pursued by St. Augustine in his The City of God, written between 410 and 423 A.D. Analysis and literature on the position of religion on politics can also be available in Skinner, The Foundations of Modern Political Thought, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1978, pp.349-59.

¹⁷Most democratic countries of the world separate religion from the state apparatus. In the present day, in fact, church, mosque, etc. are not part of government. For literature relating religion to the state, see M. Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, as referred in Held, D., op. cit., p.40.

orientation to emerge was 'the Liberal tradition,' as elaborated by Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679). Hobbes marked the point of transition from the absolutist state to liberalism against tyranny.

Liberalism is a controversial concept based on the principles of freedom of choice, reason, and tolerance in the face of tyranny.¹⁸ Liberalism tried to restrict the power of state and to identify a private sphere independent of state action. The doctrine of liberalism became associated with the idea that all individuals in a state should be free to pursue their own preferences in religious, economic and political affairs. This concept concerns the principle of freedom and equality of individuals endowed with natural rights.

One of the major problems of liberal political theory was that of how to implement the concept of the state as an impersonal entity. This implied a new view of the rights, obligations, and duties of the subject. The sovereign state would now be related to the concept of 'sovereign people,' that is, free individuals with 'natural rights.' Machiavelli provided the development of the concept of a new form of democracy, referred to as Protective Democracy.

¹⁸The development and intermeshing of liberalism and absolutism occurred between the 18th and 19th centuries. See Held D., op. cit., pp.41-42.

3. State, Power and Citizen

With the development of city life the ideal of active citizenship in a republic became a new concern in an independent city state. The classical concept of the 'Polis' became central to political theory.¹⁹ But the issue was how the values of the 'Polis' could be upheld in a changed society. A simple adoption of the past model was not viable. Machiavelli was the first to propose a balance between the power of the state and the power of the citizen. In his books 'The Prince' and 'The Discourses,' he argued that monarchy, aristocracy and democracy tend to create a cycle of degeneration and corruption.²⁰ According to Machiavelli, democracy in Athens was degenerated because it could not protect itself from arrogance of upper class and the licentiousness of the general public. Machiavelli believed that there was no given or fixed principle of governmental organization. He also believed that citizens are lazy, suspicious and incapable of doing things unless constrained. Machiavelli stressed two key devices to compel the people to place the state's interest above their own interest namely,

¹⁹The independent life of European cities was weakened by the fall of the Roman empire. During the Renaissance, interest in republican thought was renewed. See Pocock, J.G.A., The Machiavellian Moment : Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 1975 pp. 64-80.

²⁰Machiavelli, N, The Discourses, Hammersworth, Penguin, 1983, quoted in Held, D., op. cit., pp. 43-46.

upholding religious worship and the enforcement of the law. His innovation was to propose a 'mixed government', in which personal interests and institutional interests were balanced. For Machiavelli, liberty rested on conflict and disagreement.

Machiavelli's views on the preservation of liberty depended on more than a mixed constitution. Threats to liberty would be both internal (from interest groups not served governments), and external (from competing states). The best way to meet external threats is to contain them before they are realized. Also the application of force is integral to the maintenance of freedom. The dilemmas anticipated by Machiavelli were solved in a profoundly anti-liberal way, by granting priority to the preservation of society by whatever means necessary.

In Machiavelli's theory of democracy, the governed are protected from the governor, and the governor from the governed. Also there is a need for organized political force, supreme in its territory and active in its pursuit of a policy of aggrandizement. These ideas were decisive in the development of the modern notion of the state.

Machiavelli's concept of self government had an impact on eighteenth century England, France and America. The problem of how civic life is to be constructed has been accepted and modified by different countries, in different periods. England interpreted the concept according to its own forms, their moral structures and religious perspectives.

In Leviathan, Hobbes' view of human being (citizens) is that they are self-interested but unable to protect their rights when they are in a 'natural' state²¹ the result is that their life, is 'solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short.' His view is that some kind of regulation is necessary for the citizen's own well-being. When human beings surrender their 'natural' rights to a powerful authority, this authority can form a legitimate private and public sphere, society or a state.

The Hobbesian argument is that individuals could only find a peaceful life with one another (based on trust) if they were ruled by a government of some type. In contrast, John Locke's²² view was that if individuals could not believe each other, how could they surrender their rights to a sovereign government? In Locke's view government can and should be thought of as an instrument for the defense of the life, liberty and property of its citizens. In other words, it exists to protect individual rights.

²¹State of Nature : a situation without common power or in a state enforced common laws and can do what ever they wish. David Held, op. cit., pp. 48-50.

²²Locke's argument, 'This is to think that men are so foolish that they take care to avoid what mischiefs may be done to them by Pole-cats or Foxes, but are content, may think it safety, to be devoured by Lions. See Locke, J., Two Treatises of Government, Cambridge University Press, NY, 1960, p.372.

4. The Idea of Protective Democracy

A central problem of the liberal political theories articulated by Machiavelli and Hobbes and later by French philosopher and political theorist Charles - Louis de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu (1689-1755), has been how, in a world run by self-interested people, a government can be sustained and what form the government should take. Hobbes, from the assumption of classical theory of Democracy, argued that only a strong protective state could protect the citizens from the dangers they faced (both internal and external). Locke, on the other hand, argued that there is no reason to believe that the government would, on its own initiative, provide an adequate framework to pursue the interests of its citizens. But neither of these political thinkers developed conclusions as to on what form the government should take. Following in the footsteps of these seventeenth-century theorist of liberal democracy, James Madison (1751-1836) of the USA and others developed a theory of protective democracy, which will be discussed in the following sections.

D. MADISONIAN DEMOCRACY

James Madison articulated most of his theories of democracy, more specifically Madisonian democracy, before and at the Constitutional Convention of 1789 and in certain of the 'Federalist Papers.' Madisonian democracy is an effort to

compromise between the power of majorities and that of minorities, thus to bring equality between all adult citizens and to limit their sovereignty over one other. Madison set forth the theory that was widely shared by political leaders of his time because his logical argument was lucid, logical and orderly. Madison was writing and addressing the issues of his time but he may still be called a political theorist. Madison's proposition will be discussed, analyzed and sometimes criticized in the following subsections.

1. Theory of Madisonian Democracy²³

Hypothesis one²⁴: 'If unrestrained by external checks, any given individual or group of individuals will tyrannize over others.' In this hypothesis two key words need to be explained namely 'external checks' and 'tyranny.' Madison in his paper stated that,

the accumulation of all powers, legislative, executive, and judiciary, in the same hands, whether of one, a few, or many, may justly be pronounced the very definition of tyranny.²⁵

²³Details of Madisonian Democracy can be found in Earle, E. M., (ed), The Federalist, Random House, NY, 1953, p. 6.

²⁴Earle, E. M., The Federalist, The Modern Library, Random House, NY., quoted in Dahl, R. A., A Preface to Democratic Theory, Chicago University Press, Chicago, 1956, p.6.

²⁵Hamilton, A., Madison, J., and Jay, J., The Federalist Papers. The New American Library of World Literature Inc., 1961, papers No. 47, p.301.

This definition leads to the second hypothesis, where it is argued that the accumulation of all legislative power. In one hand may eliminate external checks, which in turn leads to tyranny as seen in hypothesis one. An argument can be made against Madisonian democracy, namely that Madison does not clearly specify the concept of natural rights. In his time, even today, there was no general agreement about natural rights. In his definition of tyranny, Dahl²⁶ has argued that tyranny is that kind of government in which there is a severe deprivation of natural rights. It is also not well agreed how far a government can exercise its power over the citizen without becoming tyrannical. According to Madison the curtailment of any rights without concern will result in a severe deprivation of natural right.

In his hypothesis three, Madison argues that given unrestrained external checks, a minority of individuals will tyrannize the majority. Hypothesis four is the reverse: that a majority of individuals will tyrannize the minority. The same hypothesis is more clearly specified by Hamilton²⁷ in his statement: 'give all power to the many, they will oppress

²⁶Dahl, Robert, A. op. cit., pp. 5-11.

²⁷The debates in the several state conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution as recommended by the General Convention at Philadelphia, in 1787 together with the Journal of Federal Convention, etc., Jonathan Elliot, 2nd Ed. Philadelphia : Lippincott, 1941, V. 203. This debate is called Elliot's debates.

the few, give all powers to the few, they will oppress the many.'

Madison's hypotheses are drawn from the history of ancient Greece and Rome and from fundamental axioms of his time which are Hobbesian in character. Hobbes tells us that human beings are instrument of their desires, which they pursue with appropriate opportunity. Out of many desires, one is the desire for power over other individuals.

Madison expressed anxiety over the danger of the tyranny of the minority. He regarded the executive branch of the USA as a focal point for concentrating the wealth, status and power of a minority. However, the size of the ruling group does not determine tyranny. Whatever its form, tyranny serves to deprive the natural rights of the citizens.

2. Definition

What is today called democracy was not a very common word in Madison's time. Many writers used this term to mean what is called 'direct democracy'²⁸ today. On the other hand the term 'republic' was frequently used to refer to what is now termed 'representative democracy.' Madison's definition of democracy in a republic was:

A republic is a government which (a) derives all of its powers directly or indirectly from the great body of the people and (b) is administered by persons holding their

²⁸That is, non-representative democracy.

office during pleasure, for a limited period, or during good behavior.²⁹

The goal of Madisonian democracy was to attain a non-tyrannical republic, or in specific terms, to preserve natural rights through the establishment of a republic. According to Madison at least two conditions are necessary for the existence of a non-tyrannical republic, namely,

(a) the accumulation of all powers, legislatives, executives and judiciary in the same hands, whether of one, a few, or many, and whether hereditary, self appointed, or elective, must be avoided and (b) factors must be so controlled that they do not succeed in acting adversely to the rights of other citizens or to the permanent and aggregated interests of the community.³⁰

But in an electoral process it is possible for some individuals to control others. So it is not obvious that an accumulation of legislative and executive power, will lead to tyranny. On the contrary, popular suffrage might be sufficient to prevent such invasions on basic rights. Frequent popular elections, according to Madison's hypothesis six, will not provide sufficient checks to prevent tyranny. Madison argues that the latent causes of factionalism are found in the nature of man. Factions stem from differences of opinion, from attachments to different leaders, etc. If people could be made alike, factions could be controlled. Otherwise individual liberty must be destroyed, which is not desirable. In

²⁹Hamilton, et.al. op. cit., paper no. 39., p.241.

³⁰This hypotheses five of Madison, as quoted by Dahl, R., op. cit., p.11.

hypotheses seven, eight and nine, Madison proposes ways to control factions without giving rise to tyranny. He argues that, (a) the existence of a common particular interest in a majority must be prevented, and (b) even if a majority faction exists its member must be made incapable of acting together effectively. External checks on factions are used to control their behavior; at the same time the separation of powers is necessary to prevent tyranny. The system checks the tyrannical impulses of officials by guaranteeing that the ambitions of one group countered acting with those of another group. This happens because one group will invoke penalties against tyrannical individuals in another group. The constitution determines the legitimacy and illegitimacy of actions. Any official or faction committing illegitimate actions will suffer the loss of status, respect, prestige and friendship. In theory, these are sufficient to prevent tyranny.

Madison proposed a democratic republic which was suitable, to some extent, for the USA in the late 18th century. Still, there are some fields where his explanations are insufficient, at least in today's world. For example, he does not show that reciprocal control among leaders will be sufficient to prevent tyranny requiring the constitution are separation of powers. In the American Constitution the separation of powers exaggerates the realities of behavior control. Madison exaggerated the importance of checking

government official's behavior in one department by another department in controlling tyranny.

At this stage the definition of natural rights may be a necessity, because the deprivation of natural rights constitutes tyranny, while the enjoyment of natural rights constitutes what is called democracy, or in Madisonian terms the republic. Natural rights may be defined as the right to do whatever the individual wishes to do. But with this definition every government will become tyrannical because no government allows its citizens to do whatever they wish. Rather, they control the activities of their citizens. Democratic governments in different countries have set limits on the freedom to exercise natural rights. Here the form of democracy differs from country to country.

E. CONTEMPORARY VARIANTS

1. General

Schumpeter, an Australian born American citizen, develops a 'realistic' model of democracy. In his model he seeks to understand the nature of public life. In his book 'Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy,'³¹ he explains how

³¹The development of modern democracies in practice in different countries of the world have been considerably influenced by Schumpeter, Joseph Alois. His Book Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy, New York, Harper, 1950, had a considerable impact on the development of democratic theory.

democracy actually works. His work substantially revised accepted models of democracy. Schumpeter's main hypothesis concerns the behavior of political leaders, voters, and their interrelationships. Like Rousseau, Marx and others, he believed that excessive participation might have dangerous consequences.³²

To Schumpeter democracy meant a political method or an institutional arrangement for arriving at legislative and administrative decisions in which certain individuals have the power to elect their representatives. These 'individuals' have varied from time to time in political history. For example, in the USA, women over 18 enjoyed the right to vote only after August 18, 1920. Democratic life was the struggle between rival political leaders for the mandate to rule. Democracy also implies the right of the people to choose and authorize government to act on their behalf. The root of democracy was, like protective theory, the ability of the people to select and replace (when not liked) their government, and to protect themselves from the risk of powerful decision-makers. In the hands of the people, these powers may serve as protection from tyranny. But again, democracy can be defined as an institutional arrangement to legitimate leadership on the peoples' behalf, i.e. in broader terms, 'rule by the people.' As Schumpeter points out,

³²Maybe in their mind was the Bolshevik Revolution, and mass rallies which signalled the advent of Nazi Germany.

.... democracy does not mean and cannot mean that the people actually rule in any obvious sense of the terms 'people' and 'rule.' Democracy mean only that the people have the opportunity of accepting or refusing the men who are to rule them Now one aspect of this may be expressed by saying that democracy is the rule of the politicians.³³

2. Democracy, Capitalism and Socialism

Schumpeter was greatly influenced by Marx and Weber. Like Marx, he saw a trend in the domination of ever-larger corporations in the production and distribution of goods. He believed that with the development of industrial capitalism, the foundations of capitalist society would eventually be destroyed. According to him, socialism is the result of series of social trends and it does not mean social or state ownership of property. Rather, socialist governments act as instrument to maximize rational output i.e. socialism allocates national resources, and the central government controls the production system. If defined in this way socialism may not be compatible with democracy.³⁴

Like Weber, Schumpeter, affirms that capitalism had given an enormous impetus to the process of rationalization.³⁵ Also he argues that only governments of

³³Quoted from Schumpeter, J., Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy, Allen and Unwin, London, 1950, pp. 184-45.

³⁴Bottomore, T, explains various aspects of the influence of Marx on Weber in his Theories of Modern Capitalism, London, Allen and Unwin, 1985 (especially chapter 3).

³⁵See Scumpeter, op. cit., pp.121-22.

experts can direct the administrative apparatus in their task of regulation and control, and that only a 'highly restrictive model of democracy can be sustained in contemporary circumstances.'

Neither socialism nor democracy is threatened by the development of bureaucracy. Rather, it is an inevitable complement to both democracy and socialism. In the modern world bureaucracy is the basis of management, including the management of the government apparatus of democratic regimes. The key points of modern democracy (according to Schumpeter) are, (a) the erosion of market forces by the progressive increase in the scale and concentration of the means of production, (b) an increasing tendency towards bureaucratization and the rationalization of management, and (c) the allocation of resources in economic and political life, the last for the control of the central economy, the development of bureaucracy and democracy.

3. Classical Vs Modern Democracy

Modern democracy, in a broad sense, means an institutional arrangement to arrive at a political decision which will benefit a majority of the people. This majority will decide for themselves what is that 'political' good and will decide the issue through the election of individuals to represent them. According to Schumpeter, the concept of

'common good' in which 'all people' might agree or be made to agree by the 'force of rational argument' is misleading. He argues that individuals have different wants and possess different values. Individuals and groups rarely share common goals. Even when they do, they disagree as to what would be a suitable means to implement them. Therefore, the notion of common good is an unacceptable element of modern democratic theory.³⁶ According to Rousseau or Marx, it is not necessary that democracy is based on the 'will of all.' Also, the 'will of all' does not represent what people really want.

Schumpeter also attacks the electoral process. He mentions that the will of the people or that of voters is a social construct which has little rational basis. Public relations specialists involved in campaigning have the ability to create 'needs' for the people. Thereby, for their own interests, they manipulate individuals by selecting their desires or choices. As a result, the choices or desires of the people are, in fact, the choices of political leaders. Moreover, the general susceptibility of individuals and their vulnerability to pressure groups and interest groups undercuts any rational basis from their political thought. So, what one confronts in politics is a manufactured, not a genuine popular will.

³⁶See Schumpeter, J., op.cit., p. 252

4. Issues and Probable Solution to Solution on Democracy

According to Schumpeter, the 'lovers of democracy' must relinquish their belief in the 'make-believe' assumptions. They should also abandon the notion that the people have definite and rational ideas about politics. In his view, people are nothing more than the 'producers of government.' That is the people serve as a kind of mechanism which can be used to select (elect) representatives who are believed to be better to run the government for the people's betterment and on behalf of the people. Hence, democracy must be understood as a political method in which electors choose between teams of leaders (the candidates to represent the people). Schumpeter called this system 'competitive eliticism.'

As a result of this, voters have the option to accept or refuse one 'boss' or another. This provides political legitimacy. Once these leaders are elected, political activities become his/her own business. So, one can argue that the citizens of a nation participate in political activities in elections (or referenda) as voters. To overcome these problems or limitations, Schumpeter suggests the following³⁷:

- (1) The caliber of politicians must be high.

³⁷These suggestions might be theoretically possible, but in reality they are questionable. Quoted from Schumpeter, op.cit., pp. 184-189.

(2) Competition between rival leaders (and parties) must take place within a relatively restricted range, bounded by consensus on the overall direction of national policy, on what constitutes a reasonable parliamentary program, and on general constitutional matters.

(3) A well-trained independent bureaucracy and traditions must exist to aid politicians in all aspects of policy formation and administration.

(4) There must be 'democratic self-control,' i.e. broad agreement about undesirability of, for instance, voters and politicians confusing their respective roles, excessive criticism of government on issues, and unpredictable and violent behavior.

(5) There must be a culture capable of tolerating differences of opinion.

Democracy may function well when the above-mentioned points are present. But in troubled times there may not be a consensus, and the people and the politicians may not be prepared for compromise. Such a situation may terminate democratic regimes.

The theory described above has many features of western models of democracy, e.g. a competitive struggle between parties for political power, the increasingly important power of bureaucrats, the significance of political leadership, the ways voters are subjected to a constant

barrage of information (many voters are poorly informed) and so on.³⁸

5. New Visions

Democracy legitimizes the position of political leaders. But questions remain. Does an occasional vote by the people legitimize a political system or political regimes ? If we accept that it does, the difficulty with this conception of legitimacy is that it fails to distinguish between different grounds for accepting or complying, consulting or agreeing to something. One may comply for many reasons. For example, (a) there is no choice in the matter, either follows orders or submits to coercion, (b) no thought has ever been given to it the individual complies out of tradition, (c) Apathy, and (d) Since one can't change the political situation, we accept it as a kind of fate.³⁹

Finally, we can argue that the Schumpeter's model of democracy represents a competitive system, both among the political leaders and among the people. Macpherson argues that

³⁸Relevant pattern of struggle between political parties and political leaders are still true as the voter's behavior is true. Literature may be found in Lukes, S, 1970, "The New Democracy in Lukes" (ed.) Essays in Social Theory, New York, Columbia University Press, 1977, pp. 30-51.

³⁹Changing political situations are a matter of time. In the long run the political pattern as well as the political culture can be changed, but this is more a natural phenomenon. Sometimes with the leadership of some strong personality political patterns are also changed in the short run.

it is more appropriate to call this model 'oligopolistic.' As he argues:

.... there are only a few sellers, a few political goods where there are so few sellers, they need not and do not respond to the buyers' demand as they must do in a fully competitive system. They can set prices and set the range of goods that will be offered. More than that, they can, to a considerable extent, create (their own) demand.⁴⁰

6. Participation, Liberty and Democracy

Political thinkers like Pateman (1970, 1985), Macpherson (1977) and Poulantzas (1980) have contributed significantly to a discussion about the appropriate form and limits of political action. They contribute to develop a forms of democracy which may be called 'Participatory Democracy.' Liberal models of contemporary democracy assume that individuals are free and equal. Pateman argues that the 'free and equal individual' is very rare in practice. Assessments of freedom should be made on the basis of liberties that are tangible and capable of being deployed within the realms of both state and civil society.⁴¹ According to Pateman, from

⁴⁰So is the case in developing countries, but in some smaller developing countries like Nigeria, Burma, Bangladesh etc. the 'seller' may be many but the 'true sellers' are very few in number. From Macpherson, C.B., The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1977, p.89. as quoted by David Held, op. cit. p. 183.

⁴¹Assessment of freedom may be done according to the degree of freedom of press, freedom of speech, freedom of action etc. Held, D., op.cit., pp. 254-55.

Hobbes to Hayek, liberals have failed to examine these issues. He also argues that in practice, there are massive numbers of individuals who are systematically restricted both in political and social life. In addition to these systematic restrictions, inequalities of class, sex, and race substantially hinder the extent to which it can legitimately be claimed that the individuals are 'free and equal.'

In liberal models the 'civil society' and 'the state' are clearly separated. Since the state is separated from everyday life, it can also be argued that the state serves as a kind of apparatus-a 'protective knight,' 'emperor' or 'judge' which the citizens must respect or obey. On the other hand if the state is entangled with social associations and practices, the claim that the state is an 'independent authority' is compromised. According to Pateman:

The state is inescapably locked into the maintenance and reproduction of the inequalities of every day life, and, accordingly, the whole basis its claim to distinct allegiance is in doubts.⁴²

Poulantzas has tried to develop a position, in common with other thinkers. He affirms the view that,

⁴²This concerns the nature of public power, the relation between 'the public' and 'the private'. The proper scope of politics and the appropriate reach of democratic governments; as quoted by Held, D., op. cit., p.256.

without general elections, without unrestricted freedom of press and assembly, without a free struggle of opinion, life dies out in every public institution.⁴³

He also argues that the relation between socialist thought and democratic institutions need to be rethought in the light of the reality of Eastern European socialism. According to him, the state has grown in size and power, and the institution of direct democracy cannot simply replace the state. For the transformation into socialist pluralism of the states of west and east Europe, two sets of changes are vital. First, states must be democratized by making parliament, state bureaucracies, and political parties more open and accountable.

C. B. Macpherson's ideology is somehow compatible with Poulantzes. Macpherson argues that liberty and individual development can only be fully achieved with the direct and continuous involvement of citizens in the regulation of society and the state. He admits that the obstacles to the realization of participatory democracy are formidable. On the other hand, Pateman argues that participatory democracy fosters human development, enhances a sense of political

⁴³General elections are common features in almost every democratic country, but in some cases elections may be controlled by the current "democratic" governments in power. On the other hand presses have freedom subjected to "scrutiny" by the government Public Relations Officer's office. Quote from and relevant explanations by Rosa Luxembourg, 1961, p.71, as quoted by Poulantzes, State, Power, and Social Classes, New Left Books, London, 1980, p. 283 in David Held op. cit., p.257.

efficiency, reduces a sense of entanglement from power centers, nurtures a concern for collective problems and contributes to the formation of an active and knowledgeable citizenry capable of taking a more acute interest in governmental affairs.⁴⁴

If people know that there are opportunities for effective participation in the governmental decision-making process, they are likely to believe that participation is worthwhile. On the other hand if people are marginalized or poorly represented, then their belief in the worthfulness of participation is sure to be destroyed. But it is also inevitable that many of these kinds of institutions as well as competitive parties, representatives, and periodic elections will be unavoidable elements of participatory democracy. At best, direct participation and control over locals are the realistic goals of participatory democracy.

7. Summary of The Model

A summary of the central features of participatory democracy are listed below:

Principle (s) of Justification

An equal right to self-development can only be achieved in a 'participatory society,' a society which fosters a sense of political efficacy, nurtures a concern for collective problems

⁴⁴This may be the most ideal form of democracy. The irony is that knowledge of democracy may not be very common in most of the developing democratic as well as developed countries. See, Pateman, C., op. cit. , pp. 110-111.

and contributes to the formation of a knowledgeable citizenry capable of taking a sustained interest in the governing process

Key Features

Direct participation of citizens in the regulation of the key institutions of society, including the workplace and local community.

Reorganization of the party system by making party officials directly accountable to membership.

Operation of 'participatory parties' in a parliamentary or congressional structure.

Maintenance of an open institutional system to ensure the possibility of experimentation with political forms.

General Conditions

Direct amelioration of the poor resource base of many social groups through redistribution of material resources.

Minimization (eradication, if possible) of unaccountable bureaucratic power in public and private life.

An open information system to ensure informed decisions.

Re-examination of child-care provision so that women as well as men can take up the opportunity to participate.

F. SUMMARY

In this chapter, I have provided an overview of the evolution of democracy over time. From the classical Athens to the eighteenth century, the principles of democracy have had many ups and downs in terms of strict adherence by different governments. Theorists have provided many models which vary significantly from one another.

Like other countries of the contemporary world, Indonesia has its own unique system of government. This system is

pancasila democracy. Pancasila democracy took about twelve years to develop and it is still undergoing transformation. Indonesia gained her independence from the Dutch in 1945. The Dutch ruled the country for about three hundred and fifty years. In the war of liberation, the Indonesian armed forces made significant contributions, and have influenced the country's political development. The only two presidents in the country's independent history, Soekarno and Soeharto, were influenced by the armed forces. Soeharto, the ruling president of Indonesia, is himself a retired General in the Indonesian Army and played a role in the war of independence. Soekarno ruled the country in the name of "parliamentary democracy" and "guided democracy." After Soeharto took power in a situation marked by chaos, confusion, and uncertainty, he changed the previous model of democracy and transformed it into a new form called "Pancasila Democracy". This pancasila democracy depends on the nation's ideology.⁴⁵

While I will try to describe and discuss these forms of democracy as well as prospect for democracy in Indonesia, it may be difficult to understand and follow the analyses unless

⁴⁵The components of Pancasila are :

1. Belief in one supreme God,
2. Just and civilized humanity,
3. The unity of Indonesia
4. Democracy led by the wisdom of deliberations among
representatives,
5. Social justice for all the people of Indonesia.

one has an overview of Indonesian history, past and present. In the following chapter I will provide a brief historical overview of Indonesia.

III. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

A. GENERAL

Indonesia is the largest country in South-East Asia, stretching 3200 miles from the west to the east, 1200 miles from the north to the south. It has more or less 13,600 islands, 990 of which are inhabitable. These islands constitute an area of 1,919,443 square Km. About 75 percent of its total population of 187 million lives on the islands of Java, one of the most density populated areas in the world. Other major islands of Indonesia are Kalimantan, Sumatra, and Sulawesi. The majority of the population is of Malay origin, having immigrated from mainland Asia in several waves since 2500 B.C. There are 4-5 million of Chinese scattered over the archipelago, as well as some Indians, Pakistanis and Arabs.⁴⁶

Most Indonesians are literate in the Indonesian language but still the population is divided by as many as 30 regional languages and scores of dialects. The country is 90 percent Muslim but difference between strong and nominal believers often becomes a source of friction.

⁴⁶A detailed history of Indonesia can be found in Elaine Mackay (ed), Studies in Indonesian History, Carlton, Victoria: Pitman, Australia, 1976; and in Dahm, B., History of Indonesia in the Twentieth Century, Praeger, New York, 1971.

B. PRE-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

The Dutch occupied the country as one of its many colonies. This colonialism was opposed by many groups in the country. The most important of these were the Muslim "radical" groups. The Dutch managed to suppress the resisting groups, and in the early 1900s the country was firmly "under the control of the Dutch." The Dutch had ruled and controlled the country for about 350 years by a variety of arrangements.

The beginning of Indonesian nationalism dates back to the early twentieth century when Islamic traders founded the *Sarikat Dagang Islam* in defense against Dutch and Chinese businessmen. Membership soon extended throughout the archipelago, and the group pursued non-business activities and formulated political demands. Though the group's membership expanded rapidly during the 1920s, the infiltration of the communist party caused a split in the membership over ideological issues.⁴⁷ In the early 20s the communist party initiated a revolution, but it was crushed by the KNIL (Royal Netherlands India Army).

In 1927 Soekarno set up the PNI (Partai National Indonesia: Indonesian Nationalistic Party). But before the PNI could become a substantial threat to the Dutch colonials Soekarno was arrested, resulting in the disintegration of the party. Resistance did not die down, however Muhammad Hatta and

⁴⁷See: Dahm, B., op.cit., pp. 38-56.

Sutan Syahrir tried to form a nationalist organization based on a cadre system. But they were also arrested before any fruitful activities could be taken. Since their efforts failed,⁴⁸ the last option was to recognize a party based on the cooperation of Muslims, Marxists and Nationalists to achieve a common goal, i.e. the independence of Indonesia.

By this time the colonial masters formed a legislative assembly to include a few Indonesians. But Japan invaded Indonesia in 1942, thus terminating the Dutch regime. Indonesia fell into the hands of a new master, Japan, although only for a short period. The invasion of Japan acted as a boost to Indonesian nationalism. Independence was promised by Japan, and with the end war in sight, Japan allowed Indonesian leaders to prepare for national independence. In June 1945, Soekarno promulgated the doctrine of the Pancasila (five pillars), the state ideology of the nation.⁴⁹ It should be emphasized that these were only vaguely articulated so that the entire package was acceptable to all existing factions.

⁴⁸These efforts were Muslim-based and rested on a strategy of economic assault on the colonial system. They included communist's premature revolt and Soekarno's Nationalist Party. See Sundhaussen, U., "Indonesia: Past and Present Encounters with Democracy" in Lipset, S. M., (ed.) Democracy in Developing Countries, Volume III, Lynne Rienner Publishing Inc., Colorado, 1989, pp. 426-27.

⁴⁹The democracy of Soeharto is based on this Pancasila or five pillars doctrine of national ideology, for the contents of Pancasila see Section F of Chapter III.

Before the nationalists could proceed, however, the Japanese surrendered.

C. THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE (1945-1949)

The surrender of the Japanese presented Soekarno with a dilemma. If he did nothing, the young party members would take action by themselves. Yet if Indonesian independence was proclaimed, the Japanese might use force to quell nationalist activities. In the meantime the nationalists kidnapped two leaders (Soekarno and Hatta) to force them into action but, released them when they found that they were not yielding to pressure. However on August 17, 1945 Soekarno and Hatta declared a Unitary Republic of Indonesia. Soekarno assumed the presidency and Hatta become his vice-president. The ABRI⁵⁰ (Indonesian Armed Forces) was formed on October 5, 1945.

The Dutch tried to re-establish its colonial control at this juncture. Here the ABRI played a critical role in resisting the attempt. By December 1948, Dutch forces recaptured most of the Indonesia and its political leadership. The Indonesian military (i.e. the ABRI) was left to fight alone against the Dutch. Regrouping in rural areas, military commanders created a subdistrict level government with

⁵⁰The ABRI was not created by either the government or the Dutch; rather, the Armed factions combined to form ABRI, and the government recognized it to be the Indonesian armed forces.

political, economic and social staffs, in addition to their combat organizations. During and after the war of independence, the military leaders accused the civilian leadership of delaying and mismanaging the army, as well as promoting ill-timed cease-fires and negotiations with the Dutch.

In this situation, Sutan Syahrir was accepted as a leader by the Dutch. But Soekarno and Hatta stood firmly as they represented the only legitimate and popularly accepted government of Indonesia. But they could not face a constitutional coup executed by Syahrir claiming himself the Prime Minister of Indonesia. By November 1946, Syahrir concluded an agreement, the so called Linggar Jati Agreement with the Dutch, in which the republic's de-facto authority over Java and Sumatra was accepted. The agreement also stipulated that a United States of Indonesia was to be formed. Despite the agreement, the Dutch issued an ultimatum demanding de-jure authority over the whole of Indonesia until the formation of a United States of Indonesia on 1 January 1949. As Syahrir declined to accept the Dutch proposal he was forced to resign under the pressure of his party members. Amir Syarifuddin replaced Syahrir. While war was going on the United Nations formed a committee comprised of Australia,

Belgium, and the United States to supervise the archipelago.⁵¹

In this chaotic situation, President Soekarno formed, a "business cabinet" headed by Hatta. Supported by the "defense sector" this cabinet tried to reform the economic and administrative order. The defense sector was led by Colonel (later General) Nasution. Soekarno was expecting a Dutch "police action;" he prepared Nasution to face that. But troops loyal to the PKI (Communist Party of Indonesia) seized the city of Solo and called for the overthrow of Soekarno and Hatta's cabinet. But with the help of loyal troops, the rebellion was controlled. In the midst of civil war, Dutch forces attacked the provisional capital of Yogyakarta on 19 December 1948. But the international community was against the Dutch action, and with pressure from the loyal⁵² forces the Dutch were forced to negotiate. They handed power to the Indonesian federation, with Soekarno and Hatta as the president and vice president, on December 27, 1948.

⁵¹For the text of the said agreements between the Dutch and the Republic , see P.S. Gerbrandy, Indonesia, Hutchinson, London, 1950, pp. 195-198.

⁵²There was a small faction within the military which remained loyal to the Dutch. It was not the ABRI. The ABRI formed out of these people's force.

D. PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY (1950-1957)

The period from 1950-1957 was the most chaotic in the history of Indonesia. Prior to 1950, i.e. in 1949, a federal order was desired in which the individual states of Indonesia would retain autonomy except in matters of defense, currency, and foreign trade, which would be controlled by the federal government. Before the full execution of this federalist system, time was given to see whether the individual states would survive on their own. The federal order did not last long since these states were neither politically nor militarily stable. For example, the state of Pasundan, situated in the western third of Java and enveloping the federal capital of Jakarta, faced constant intimidation by the local military garrison and allied itself with the Dutch Captain Turk Westerling. The 'Turks' forces temporarily occupied Bandung, the capital of Pasundan, but were defeated by loyalist troops. This kind of "coups" and "counter-coups" were going on throughout the archipelago. The nation was undergoing constant changes of cabinet and government coalitions.

In 1950 Mohammad Natsir, a muslim leader, assembled a coalition based on Islam, Christianity and other religions and ethnic affiliations. In 1951, Sukiman formed another cabinet; by 1952, Wilopo replaced Sukiman. Given this kind of change, the army leader Nasution petitioned President Soekarno to dissolve the parliament, but Soekarno refused. On the contrary

Soekarno instigated meetings in three divisions out of a total seven divisions of army. Wilopo sacked Nasution, but could not save his cabinet and was forced to resign. Ali Sastroamidjojo (PNI) replaced Wilopo on July 2, 1953.

Ali was forced to resign, when he appointed a junior officer of his own liking as the Army chief of staff. Junior as well as senior officers forced the resignation on July 2, 1955. Vice President Hatta appointed Burhanuddin Harahap as Prime Minister. This was followed by an election on September 27, in which the PNI was victorious. But the President appointed Ali as Prime Minister, an appointment that the army did not like. Ali's cabinet was unable to gain the acceptance of the people. By this time there were strong reactions everywhere in the country. Faced with revolt, Ali declared a state of siege and resigned on 14 March 1957.⁵³

E. THE ERA OF GUIDED DEMOCRACY (1957-1966)

After Ali's forced resignation, President Soekarno appointed a non-political man, Djuanda, as Prime Minister. On February 15, 1958, civilian political leaders proclaimed a rebel government at Bukit Tinggi, the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia (PRRI). Decisive actions by the

⁵³Ali was not supported by the major factor : the military . For details and analytical perspective see : Daniel, S. Lev, The Transition to Guided Democracy : Indonesian Politics, 1957-59, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966, p. 15.

military neutralized the revolt by mid-1958. In this period of constitutional crisis, Soekarno promulgated a new political system based on "gotong royong" (mutual cooperation), and suggested that the western democratic system be replaced by "musyawarah" (deliberation) until consensus could be reached. In other terms, Soekarno could, by himself, as the president of the country, decide whatever he felt suitable for the nation. Soekarno had the support of Nasution. With his support he compromised so that the military would not assume political power but rather would play a decisive role in the governance of the nation. With the suggestions from the Army Chief of Staff General Nasution, Soekarno adopted the "middle way" concept. In this concept the military would neither remain politically inactive nor attempt to take over.⁵⁴ Under the new political system, "guided democracy,"⁵⁵ the party system was drastically revised.

The era of Guided democracy was dominated by Soekarno, while the second most powerful man was Nasution, the Defense Minister. Nasution never questioned the authority of Soekarno, but tactfully avoided confrontation. When Soekarno succeeded

⁵⁴For details see Maynard, H.W., "The Role of Indonesian Armed Forces", in The Armed Forces in Contemporary Asian Societies, edited by Olsen, E.A., and Stephen Jurika Jr., Westview Press, Boulder and London, 1986.pp. 186-212.

⁵⁵Guided Democracy was to give emphasis to consensus, collectivism, and nationalism. It was, however, nothing new : Soekarno had been nurturing this throughout his political career.

in bringing west New Guinea into the federation by force, a move that Nasution debated, the image and power of Soekarno increased manyfold.

In the following years, Soekarno viewed⁵⁶ himself as the head of the Jakarta Peking Phnom Penh Pyongyang axis. He pulled Indonesia out of the UN and set out to "smash Malaysia."⁵⁷ With these attitudes the economy of Indonesia collapsed and politics became polarized. As political confrontation escalated, the Communist Party accused the army of planning a coup; it also argued that workers and peasants be armed to counter the army. Over-confident of their strength and precipitated by the serious illness of President Soekarno, armed members of PKI and Cakrabirawa, the President's security guard, set out to kidnap, torture and kill six top Army Generals in the early hours of October 1, 1965. Their bodies were dumped in an abandoned well at Lubang Buaya, on the outskirts of Jakarta.

Students made for the streets in militant demonstrations to fight for a three-point claim, or "Tritura," that aimed to ban the PKI, replace Soekarno's cabinet ministers, and reduce

⁵⁶See Bunge, F.M. (ed), Indonesia: A Country Study, Library of Congress, 1983, p.52.

⁵⁷In reaction to this policy, military action was initiated along the border with Sarawak, and Sabah; Indonesian guerrillas were sent to the Malaya Peninsula. See Sundhaussen, U., op. cit., p. 437.

the prices of basic necessities. They set up a "street parliament" to gather the demands of the people.

Under these explosive conditions, President Soekarno eventually gave in and granted supreme authority to Soeharto after the September 30, 1965 event. Power to restore order and security was transferred, but Soekarno still served as was figurehead president of the country. The transfer of power was effected by a presidential order known as "the 11th March order" of 1966. Soon afterwards, on March 12, 1966, General Soeharto banned the PKI. This decision was endorsed and sanctioned by the Provisional People's Consultative Assembly in Decree No XXV/MPRS/1966. He also formed a new cabinet, but Soekarno remained as Chief Executive. This brought dualism into the cabinet, particularly when Soekarno did not show support for the cabinet's program to establish political and economic stability. Hence, a special session of the Provisional People's Consultative Assembly (MPRS) was convened from March 7-12, 1967. The Assembly resolved to relieve Soekarno of his presidential duties and appointed Soeharto as Acting President, pending the election of a new President by an elected People's Consultative Assembly. The era of Guided Democracy came to an end, and President Soeharto started a new regime, that of "pancasila democracy," which is still in effect in the country.

F. THE COUP OF 1965 : THE FINAL BLOW TO GUIDED DEMOCRACY

By 1965 Soekarno's government was under severe social and political pressure. The rapid expansion of the PKI had created tensions among different factions of Islamic groups and within the armed forces. The military-PKI equilibrium was about to break down. When in this volatile situation of guided democracy era, the PKI demanded to create a fifth armed forces, the army became cautious.

An abortive coup was launched on September 30, 1965. The rebel forces called themselves the "September 30 Movement." The coup was to change radically Indonesian government and policy that was based on Guided Democracy. The rebel forces were composed of some pro-communist military forces headed by Lieutenant Colonel Untung of Soekarno's bodyguard troops. They captured a radio station on October 1 and announced that they had formed a revolutionary council and cabinet. Also they claimed that they staged the coup to prevent a coup by a council of generals.

The regular army, especially general Soeharto (commander of the Army's strategic reserve) acted quickly. They recaptured the radio station. It was found that the rebel forces, mostly the numbers of the communist front, had murdered six generals and wounded Nasution's five year old daughter in an unsuccessful attempt to kill the general.

Soekarno arrived at the coup head quarters, Halim Air Force Base, on the morning of October 1. He was quoted as

saying that sort of thing would happen in a revolution. In the following months after the coup Soekarno refused to condemn the communist. The murder of there six generals provoked a violent anti-communist reaction throughout the country. By December, mobs were engaged in large-scale violence, most notably in East Java, and on Bali but also to a significant extent on Sumatra. Youth fronts of different Islamic based parties, especially the *Nahdatul Ulama*, were active in carrying out "jihad" (the 'holy war') against the PKI members. The Indonesian Chinese were also targeted as much resented ethnic group. The death estimates varie from 160,000 to some 500,000.⁵⁸

In The period from October 1965 to March 1966, Indonesia witnessed the eclipse of Soekarno and the rise of Soeharto. Soeharto came from a lower *priyayi* family and received military training in PETA Military Academy during the Japanese occupation. During the war of independence, Soeharto⁵⁹ distinguished himself by leading a lightning attack against the Dutch to recapture Yogyakarta. Soeharto's capability and intelligence for quick reaction helped him to neutralize the coup. By October 5, Soeharto disarmed the rebel forces not only from the coup head quarters but also from other parts of the country.

⁵⁸See Bunge, F.M. (ed), op.cit, p. 54.

⁵⁹Soeharto like Soekarno, was a product of traditional Javanese culture.

By then Soekarno had no support and gradually was maneuvered into a position of political impotence. Through a March 11, 1966 order Soekarno was obliged to give Soeharto supreme authority to restore order, while in March 1967, the MPRS stripped Soekarno of all political power and named Soeharto the acting president. On March 1968, Soeharto was made president by the MPRS.

On the face of the people's demand Soeharto banned the PKI by the March 11, 1966 order. The March 11, 1966 order had three main points, "tritura". One of these three was banning the PKI.⁶⁰ Not only he disbanded the PKI, a strong surveillance over the members of PKI. By doing so, Soeharto restricted social political activities of the members of PKI. Till today this kind of governmental repression has been going on. However, there is no such official order.

In June 1970, Soekarno died while he was kept under virtual house arrest.

G. THE ERA OF NEW ORDER

The new order under Soeharto is marked by a basic difference in ideology from Soekarno's Guided Democracy. The New Order stressed stability and economic development, rather

⁶⁰For other details of the "tritura" see Section E.

than the mass mobilization and ideological confrontation that was characteristic of the Soekarno regime.

Soeharto faced three major problems after assuming full control, namely, (a) how to strengthen his position in the new political system, (b) how to decide on a political format for the "New Order", and (c) the critical issue of how to rehabilitate the devastated economy.⁶¹ The first problem was solved when another People's Consultative Assembly, in the session of March 1968, made him full president. But he needed the cooperation of the Sultan of Yogyakarta, who was very popular among the ethnic Javanese. Accordingly, Soeharto made him Vice President. In negotiations with the army a special operation command, "Komando Pertahanan Keamanan dan Ketertiban" (KOPKAMTIB- Operational Command for the Restoration of Security and Order) was formed to restore security and order. This command would remain virtually under his control. The KOPKAMTIB was used to counter all the opposition.

The overthrow of Soekarno was justified by his violation of the 1945 constitution which was based on Indonesian nationalism.⁶² Soeharto launched the pancasila democracy as a system for the state and society on the basis of people's sovereignty. It is inspired by the noble values of the

⁶¹For details see Sundhaussen, U., op. cit., chapter XI, p. 438-442.

⁶²See Section B of Chapter IV.

Indonesian nation. Pancasila itself, which means the five principles, is the name given to the foundation of the Indonesian Republic, in which the terms are vaguely defined. Soeharto could attract a large mass of population behind him. As stipulated by the constitution, Indonesia would remain a unitary republic, while the President could select his ministers from outside the parliament, e.g. among military officers, technocrats, etc. While a one party system was undemocratic, a multi-party system did not work well or may be said to be not suitable for Indonesia. After a lengthy debate the electoral and party system retained the functional groups side by side with political parties, as stipulated in the 1945 constitution. In the "new order," everything would be controlled and centrally coordinated by activists of the new order and the military officers. The control of the "government party" was complete, and is run through "GOLKAR" (functional groups) as components of the ruling party. In Pancasila democracy decisions would not be taken by majority voting, but rather by "musyawarah-mufakat" (deliberation until consensus).

Soeharto's economic activities yielded some positive results. Soeharto drastically cut the governmental and defense budgets. Within a couple of years, the rate of inflation was slashed from 650 percent to 12 percent. During Soekarno's period foreign exchange expenditures had exceeded foreign exchange earnings, but Soeharto controlled it by rescheduling.

The subsequent two decades was marked by the rapid growth of the national economy and substantial development in the society.

Soeharto was successful in controlling the country's chaos and confusion. The development and unity of nation can be attributed partially to the new order and partially to the wise handling of situation by Soeharto. From that time until today there have been no major controversies in the country's political system, although it may be mentioned that in 1980, retired military officers formed an organization criticizing government policies, development strategies and the individual shortcomings of politicians. In the forefront of this organization was General Nasution, who criticized Pancasila Democracy as an aberration from both the original Pancasila and democracy as stipulated in the 1945 constitution. Moreover, Nasution had attacked the "dwi fungsi" doctrine of the present regime. The "dwi fungsi" of the military justified the presence of military men in most positions of power. He argued that dwi fungsi was unacceptable to the nation, as well as being undemocratic. Nothing could prevent the forward movement of Pancasila democracy, however. Soeharto was re-elected to the presidency in the 1993 elections, which symbolizes the suitability of Pancasila democracy under the leadership of Soeharto.

H. FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

The constitution of Indonesia was formulated in 1945. With the PKI support, Soekarno deviated from the original 1945 Constitution. In contrast, Soeharto based his pancasila democracy on the original constitution, and it has been continued up to now. Like most democratic states in the world, Indonesia maintains a separation of powers, namely the executive branch, the legislative branch, and the judicial branch. The president remains the central power or the focal point of the government.

The president has a term of five years after which he is elected by the electorate. That president is not elected directly, but rather he is elected or appointed by the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR). Ayub Khan's regime in Pakistan (1958-1968/9) is another example of this arrangement. According to the constitution, the president can be re-elected to any number of terms. For example, president Soeharto has been the president of the country for the last five terms. The president as an executive is entrusted with a mandate to act as the head of the government.⁶³ According to the 1945 constitution, the president is also the supreme commander of the Indonesian armed forces.

⁶³There have been violations of the constitution. For example, Soekarno discharged his power to cabinet leader Premier Hatta. This is discussed in Section B of Chapter IV.

President is empowered to select cabinet ministers who follow the directives issued by the president in executing national activities. Since the ministers are responsible for execution, they have influence on the president in the formulation of state-policies.

The formulation of legislation is the responsibility of the *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat* (DPR- the house of the people's representatives). On the other hand the determination and formulation of "ordinance" is in the hands of the MPR. These ordinances are the highest laws made in the country after the constitution. The conservation of the constitution as well as the ordinance is seen as part of the nation's sovereignty. The MPR and the DPR are the direct representative bodies of the people. The members of these two bodies are elected by the direct mandates of the people through general elections for terms of five years. The MPR consists of one thousand members, including five hundred members of the DPR, and five hundred regional representatives, representatives of professional groups and representatives from the armed forces (ABRI).⁶⁴

The MPR are tasked with the followings duties according to the 1945 constitution.

⁶⁴All representatives of the MPR are elected through the popular votes. The military representatives of the MPR are directly selected by the president.

- (1).To elect (and to dismiss) the president and the vice-president by majority vote,
- (2) To make modifications of the constitution if deemed necessary,
- (3) To determine the state policy of the Republic (Garis Besar Haluan Negara- The Guidelines of State Policy),
- (4) To determine and formulate Ordinance as necessary and like.

The DPR also serves to maintain checks and balances in the system. The DPR is not a rival to the president, but it does limit his activities, especially when the action taken or proposed by the president violates the constitution or legislation. In such a situation the DPR can invite the president for debate or call for an explanation. The DPR cannot be dissolved by the president. This is one difference in the present form of the Indonesian Parliamentary system with others prevailing in the world. In addition to controlling governmental activities, one of the major responsibilities of the DPR is to make policy on Rencana Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Negara (RAPBN- the Planning of the National Budget) and formulate legislation.

Article 1 clause 2 of the 1945 constitution, states that the sovereignty of the nation lies in the hands of the people and that the people's will is to executed by the MPR. Accordingly, the MPR is the only body that has maximum power under the constitution.

After Soeharto came to power in 1968, he changed the ideology of the state. He introduced Pancasila Democracy as the basis of the state, an ideology which emphasized the powers of the elected representatives, that is, the DPR. He upheld the principle of general elections as "*Langsung, Umum, Bebas, dan Rahasia* (LUBER- direct, general, free, and secret).⁶⁵ Further on this aspects are discussed in Chapter V.

General elections are a means of maintaining the sovereignty of the nation through the implementation of the people's will. This is also one of the broad principles of Pancasila Democracy. General elections are to be held up to the regional level. The political parties and the GOLKAR- the functional groups for execution and control-will participate in free competition, whereas their function shall be to serve the nation. General elections are to be controlled according to the General Election Ordinance set by the MPR. Thus general elections are a manifestation of Pancasila Democracy.⁶⁶

For the election of members of the DPR and the regional DPR (DPRD), the principles of proportional representation are applied. In this way the number of representatives of the organization in the DPR or DPRD is as far as possible in proportion to the amount of support in society. To this end,

⁶⁵ This was articulated in TAP/VII/MPR/1978.

⁶⁶See Ruminah, SH. in Wahjono, P., Beberapa Masalah Ketatanegaraan di Indonesia, CV Rajawali, 1984, pp. 19-20.

an organization whose candidates are arranged in a list of candidates will obtain a number of seats based on a certain electoral quotient; i.e. a certain number obtained by dividing the total number of votes by the number of seats available. The register system as well as the system of general elections reflect an acknowledgement of the system of organization taking part in the political life.

There are only three legitimate parties involved in the political activities of the government; according to president Soeharto. These three legitimate political organizations include the ruling GOLKAR and two opposition parties. Since in the era of parliamentary democracy there were hundreds of parties that served either group or personal interests, president Soeharto limited the number of political parties. To have legitimacy, political parties must accept and adopt Pancasila as their official agenda. The ruling party-GOLKAR is different from the other two political parties; the opposition political parties are "parties" but GOLKAR is not. The GOLKAR is supposedly neutral, non-political, and secular, and is officially assigned with the mission of "engaging in politics to suppress politics." The ruling party consists of all civil servants and is supported by the ABRI. Its dual function (as a socio-political force) might here be remembered. Other details, however, will be discussed in the following chapters.

I. SUMMARY.

The cultures and attitudes of Indonesians differ from most democratic countries. This is heightened by the presence of many ethnicities in Indonesia. The country stretches from Sabang to Merauke, covering a distance of more than three thousand miles. The culture of one part of the country differs significantly from that of other parts. In the contemporary world India and Spain are examples where cultures are so diverse. In addition to diversity of culture the people of Indonesia were also not ready to accept either parliamentary democracy or the guided democracy of Soekarno. These two eras were marked by the proliferation of many political parties which were organized to satisfy personal or group interests. Moreover, these two forms of democracy were grafted from other parts of the world without giving much consideration to the diverse cultures of Indonesia. Another cause of democratic breakdown was the role of the ABRI. Since neither parliamentary democracy nor guided democracy recognized the ABRI as "socio-political force," their cooperation was not guaranteed. In the next chapters the probable causes of the failures of the two eras will be discussed.

IV. FROM PARLIAMENTARY TO GUIDED DEMOCRACY

A. THE FAILURE OF PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY

The first form of democracy in the history of independent Indonesia was parliamentary democracy, which was sustained from 1950-1957. This was the most volatile and unstable period in the history of Indonesia. After the Dutch handed power over to the people of Indonesia, the form of the state was a federative system. It gave the republic equal status along with another 15 existing states represented in the federal senate. Many of these had contributed little to the struggle for independence. As mentioned in Chapter III, the federal order did not last long and Indonesia took the form of unitary state. By the standards of International Law and diplomacy the Republic of Indonesia (RI) is indeed a state.⁶⁵ However, in the new unitary state a parliamentary system of government was retained. Power was vested primarily in parliament and the cabinet. According to this parliamentary form of government, the president held important power, although Soekarno was largely a figurehead president. The next five years saw a constant changes in the composition of

⁶⁵Sloan, Stephen, A Study in Political Violence : The Indonesia Experience, Rand McNally & Company, Chicago, 1971, p. 13.

cabinets and government coalitions.⁶⁶ The last cabinet headed by Ali fell apart on 14 March 1957 after a state of war and siege was declared. To understand the causes of so many changes, as well as the eventual transition to Guided Democracy, one must go beyond politics to the cultures and traditions of Indonesia. In the following sections I will examine important aspects of Indonesian.

1. Socio-Cultural Aspects and Parliamentary Democracy

a. *Consensus - 'Rukun'*

The Western model of democracy, as discussed in the previous chapter, was introduced in Indonesia during the era of parliamentary democracy. The transfer of the western parliamentary system imposed difficulties due to differences in the cultural settings of the European countries and that of Indonesia. The underlying principle of parliamentary democracy is the concept of the individual rights of every citizen. That is differences in opinion among citizens are respected, and when decisions are overruled, opponents can still voice their disagreement without fear.

In Indonesia, individual rights are respected in a different context. The decision-making process is based on "rukun" (harmonious relationships) and "gotong-royong" (mutual cooperation) rather than majority votes. In the process of

⁶⁶Ibid.

decision making, a "give and take" process known as "bahu membahu" is used to reach a consensus. On the other hand, "overt disagreement" is often regarded as insubordination. This explains why "ikut-ikutan" (bandwagonism) is a common phenomena in Indonesian politics.⁶⁷ In short, it may be said that the concept of "rukun" has been proven to be useful in the exercise of political authority, just as it is normally realized in Indonesian daily life. Traditionally the people of Indonesia are accommodative, and value living in mutual cooperation. Therefore, it may be said that the cultural norms, as seen in "rukun" do not match/fit those of parliamentary democracy.

b. Law In Parliamentary Democracy Era.

One of the common and important features of western democracy is the adherence to the law. Regardless of one's opposition to the prevailing law, each citizen is expected to abide by the law. If, in the course of time a law is deemed inappropriate or contrary to the general interest of the people, a formal decision must be made to change the law by a majority of the people through their elected representatives.

⁶⁷Another example is when in 1957, Soekarno introduced his conception of guided democracy. Many of the parties gave their support without much delay. Since the Masjumi and PSII rejected this action, they were banned by Soekarno.

In contrast, the law in Indonesia was overruled by political leaders. It depended upon their position and status in the government body. For example, Soekarno violated the law by appointing Sjahrir as premier and giving him executive power. According to the constitution, the president was the head of executive body, not the premier. Indonesian politics (at least 1950-1957) was based on personalities. Most often Indonesian political institutions were based on a single personality. Other examples are Bangladesh, and Pakistan. From this stand point one may claim that Indonesian politics was oligarchic. During the period of Parliamentary Democracy we see that the political system was dominated mainly by a few like Soekarno, Hatta, Sjahrir, Ali and to some extent by Madiun.

c. Wait and See Attitude

A "wait and see" attitude is inherent in Indonesian culture. This attitude derives from a strong belief in the axiom ⁶⁸ "becik ketitik, elek ketara" (good will automatically differentiates from the bad) or "sing salah seleh" (whoever is wrong will ultimately lose). This attitude can be viewed as one of tolerance or even ignorance. Because of this tolerance any action by the people in power ultimately

⁶⁸This stems from Javanese philosophy, but it is generally accepted throughout Indonesia.

becomes normative and acceptable. These attitudes are so widespread that gross mismanagement and the abuse of power has often become more institutionalized due to a lack of protest.

In the era of Parliamentary Democracy, one sees constant changes of cabinets, and the abuse and misuse of powers. But the people, who fought gallantly for liberation, did not protest as in other developing countries. Rather, the people preferred to "wait and see." As mentioned in the definition of democracy as a 'government by the people,' challenges to established power were missing in the period of Parliamentary Democracy.

On the other hand, freedom of expression is guaranteed in Indonesia as stipulated in Chapter V, Article 19 of the 1950 constitution. This statute was in effect during the era of parliamentary democracy. Freedom of expression was guaranteed as long as people used it within the confines of the law. Thus in theory the conduct of the government was subjected to the popular will. In practice, however, freedom of expression was not always allowed. One of the reasons for this is the principle of "rukun" as explained earlier in this section. Other factors were also involved, as to be discussed in the following paragraphs.

d. Teaching of the Indonesian Culture

For generations the Indonesian people have been taught to respect their elders. Children and other juniors are to obey their seniors, parents, and elders. Covert or overt disobedience has been considered improper, unethical, or even sinful. This belief is linguistically reflected in the use of a number of words. The Indonesian words for 'chairman', for example, are "ketua," and "sesepuh," both meaning 'respectable elders.' Anybody speaking up to his or her seniors would be regarded as "berani" (insolent) or "lancang" (preposterous). Criticism of the seniors is avoided at every level even in the political system. In this cultural system the juniors as well as seniors are not likely to reveal each others' weaknesses. As a result, patron-client relationships tend to develop between age groups.

Yet another relevant aspect of Indonesian culture is self-effacement. As a result, Indonesians tend to regard themselves as being lower in status, knowledge, and ability than their counterparts. This is reflected in the word "saya" (I, me, my) which was derived from "sahaya" (servant). Similarly, the Javanese term "kula" (I, me, my) was derived from "kawula" (slave or servant). A traditional proverb, is "oyo dumej," meaning just because one is in power, one acts arbitrarily. On the other hand "andap asor" or self effacement is the teaching in Indonesia.

Most Indonesian political leaders were exposed to western democracy in the late colonial period, and were enamored with democratic principles. Still, they wanted to continue to enjoy the traditional benefits and privileges of being looked up to as elders or superiors. Most often, consequently, these leaders were surrounded by subordinates who fulfilled traditional roles as "yes men." A traditional "arrogance of power" led to authoritarianism. Soekarno's dissolution of cabinets or Sjahrir's arrest of Tan Malaka are examples of this behavior. Yet on the other hand, people were reluctant to criticize their "seniors" or use freedom of expression to denounce behavior. Thus, the passive or submissive nature of the Indonesian people contributed to authoritarian rule.

From the above cultural analysis it seems that one of the elements of 'government by the people' was missing in the Indonesian variety of parliamentary democracy. The government was neither 'for the people' nor 'of the people.' In summary, cultural differences contributed significantly to the failure of the multiparty parliamentary democracy system in Indonesia because the principles of foreign systems of government were not locally applicable.

2. Non-Adherence to Democratic Principles

One of the purposes of the establishment of political parties in Indonesia was to channel the divergent views within the different ethnic groups and to defend group interests. Parties were therefore regarded as source of disharmony. Hence, they were forcibly dissolved or buried by political elites.⁶⁹ This attitude was particularly prominent in 1956 and 1957, when Soekarno, Nasution and others called for the dissolution of all political parties.

The concept of opposition, which is a significant element in liberal democracy intended to stimulate free competition and alternative solutions, has often been misunderstood by Indonesians. They almost always interpret free competition as a means of subverting the incumbent government. As a result one sees sixteen RI cabinets in a period of 12 years. Unlike the developed western countries, the judiciary, although it existed, did not function effectively as a system of checks and balances nor as a consultative body. In fact, the RI cabinets in the period of parliamentary democracy were unconstitutional because, they were headed by premiers. According to the constitution, cabinets should be headed by the President. The judiciary was subordinate to the executive body, and thus did not uphold

⁶⁹President Soekarno's speech to youth delegates from all parties, Youth's Oath Day, October 28, 1956, entitled "Pilihlah Demokrasimu Jang Sedjati" ("Choose Your Genuine Democracy").

democratic principles. From this perspective it can be said that during the era of parliamentary democracy there was a separation of powers but there was no division of power.

3. External Factors

One of the important causes of the abandonment of parliamentary democracy in Indonesia was influence from outside the Republic. This was reflected in the ideological orientations of various political leaders, and the interests they served. The cabinets of Sjahrir and Amir's suffered legal setbacks because they supported and adhered to policies which protected foreign properties. Clearly, Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution states that "branches of production which are important to the state and which effect the lives of most people shall be controlled by the state."⁷⁰ Similarly, the September 18, 1948 proclamation of a 'Soviet Republic of Indonesia' by Musso and Amir (Known as the Madiun Affairs) is another example of foreign ideological influence. The failure of Sukiman cabinet is another example. It foundered only because of his participation in and signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty with Japan in 1951, and in the Mutual Security Act (MSA) agreement with the USA. These were violations of the RI's foreign policy of nonalignment as stated in the 1945 Constitution.

⁷⁰Daniel, S. Lev, op.cit., p. 297.

Another aspect of external influence was the anti-Javanese sentiment stirred up by many western political observers. These anti-Javanese sentiments have been constantly brought to bear by Westerners who were ardent believers in freedom of expression, but were not aware of the consequences of their actions. They could not appreciate the degree of sensitivity to the issue. Unfortunately, these kinds of comments and writings by western political observers resulted in the condemnation and abandonment of parliamentary democracy as their actions accelerated disunity among the different races and ethnicities in Indonesia.⁷¹

4. The Religious Basis of the State

The Jakarta Charter, the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution, requires that those who profess Islam should observe and abide by the Islamic Laws.⁷² This clause became a controversial issue in Indonesia. Secular and non-Islamic nationalists argued that because Indonesia must exist for all, no special rights should be granted to a particular segment of the population at the expense of others. They also argued that the independence of Indonesia was a product of a struggle of all Indonesians, not just the Muslim population of the

⁷¹See Dahm, B, op. cit, p. 144.

⁷²See Hatta, M, Pengertian Pancasila, Inti Idayu Press, Jakarta, 1978, p. 57.

republic. On the other hand, extremist Muslims expressed their dissatisfaction by establishing the Darul Islam, or Islamic State, in August 1949. This was a theocratic state based on the regulations of the Qur'an. One of the primary Islamic groups behind this was the Angkatan Umat Islam (AUI). The issue of religion was so strong (90 % of the population was Muslim) and sentimental that it led to the abandonment of the constitution when non-Muslims initiated violent protests. As a result, the constitution was disbanded by decree on July 5, 1959.

5. The Lack of a Strong Government

On November 3, 1945, Hatta signed a decree allowing the formation of political parties. He imposed a restriction that the common goal of political parties should be to achieve the recognition of Indonesia through full independence from the Dutch. Inter-party rivalries and intra party splits became common practice among the political parties. Parties were formed not to serve the nation but to pursue or protect personal or group interests. Opposition for the sake of opposition became a way of life, resulting in frequent cabinet changes. The political parties and cabinets were unable to address the problems of the nation due to incessant factional disputes. The government was not viable because of the inherent weakness of the parliamentary system as it was

adopted in Indonesia. The concept of liberal democracy was misinterpreted by the people, as well as by the political leaders.

Economic phenomena contributed to political disintegration in this period. The country suffered from a poor economy resulting in sub-standard levels of life. Frequent changes of cabinets drained funds from the treasury resulting in the frequent misuse of already limited government funds.

6. The Transition to Guided Democracy

In a context of external political unrest the second Ali cabinet failed on March 14, 1957. This was one of a series of developments marking the abandonment of the 1949-1957 system of government and politics. At this juncture President Soekarno appointed himself as "citizen Soekarno"⁷³ and declared an emergency cabinet on April 18, 1957. Soekarno was very popular at the time. He promulgated a new concept of the state in February 1957. By July of 1959 he assumed executive power, and began to implement his concept of national politics and government, the Guided Democracy.

⁷³See Feith, Herbert, The Decline of Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York, 1962, p. 579.

B. FAILURE OF SOEKARNO'S GUIDED DEMOCRACY

1. General

Though Soekarno was involved in politics from early on as a student, he failed to understand the necessity of institutionalizing his base of power. Soekarno was a charismatic leader. His talents, long involvement in Indonesian politics, and most importantly his charismatic power⁷⁴ had given him the upper hand over other leaders of his time. But like most charismatic leaders in developing countries, his charisma eventually failed. Typical examples of such failures are Sheikh Mujibur Rahman of Bangladesh, President Nasser of Egypt and Ayub Khan of Pakistan. Soekarno failed to institutionalize his power. A process of institutionalization involves considerable delegation of authority and the decentralization of decision making. Soekarno was unwilling to delegate that authority and power. In the course of time his effective power was weakened, and gradually shifted from his hands to the hands of the PKI and the Indonesian Armed Forces. The September 30, 1965 coup, where six top army generals were killed, led to Soekarno's removal from power and ended the era of Guided Democracy.

The factors discussed above in examination of the failure of parliamentary democracy are equally applicable to

⁷⁴Soekarno was known for his charismatic power which he used to convince the masses in his speeches.

the failure of Soekarno's guided democracy. There are a few additional factors, however, that accelerated the termination of guided democracy. These are discussed in the following sections.

2. The Armed Forces of Indonesia.

The dissatisfaction and limited role of the Indonesian armed forces (ABRI) in the domestic political system played a large part in the failure of Guided Democracy. The ABRI takes pride in having sprung spontaneously from the Indonesian masses. It was not created by civilian politicians, nor by Dutch or Japanese colonialists. Armed bands gathered, elected their own officers, and fought the Dutch. This was without benefit of centralized political leadership or logistical support. As a result the ABRI perceived itself less as an instrument of the state than as a reflection of the will of the people. Moreover, since the ABRI was built from the bottom up, it was difficult for the central government to enforce strict orders, especially those which were contrary to the ABRI's corporate interests.⁷⁵

After the full independence of Indonesia, in 1950, Soekarno adopted a parliamentary system of constitutional

⁷⁵Maynard, H.W., "The Role of the Indonesian Armed Forces", pp. 186-214, in Olsen, E.A., and Jurika S. Jr.(ed), The Armed Forces in Contemporary Asian Societies, Westview Press, Boulder, London, 1980, p. 189.

democracy in which the military was clearly subordinate to civilian authority. The ABRI did not like this subordination because of its role in the war of independence.⁷⁶ In countries where the armed forces play an active role in the liberation struggle and have made a definite contribution, they have a tendency to sustain a strong interest in the political development of the nation. This sometimes goes beyond the purely military role. It is felt by the armed forces that their contribution and sacrifice for the nation was significantly higher than that of the civilian population and civilian political leaders in particular. As a result, the armed forces believe that they have as much right to shape the political destiny of their country as the civilian political leadership.

This phenomenon is fully applicable in case of the ABRI. The ABRI made a positive contribution in the war of independence. When Soekarno failed to understand this there was a definite outburst within the military. The first sign of dissatisfaction came in the form of an attempted coup on October 17, 1952 which was unsuccessful. For some time before this coup, ABRI officers viewed civilian political leaders as

⁷⁶From this perspective the Indonesian Armed Forces may be called "The Army of National Liberation" following the typology of Morris Janowitz. Other examples are the Armed Forces of Burma, Bangladesh and Turkey.

selfish, ineffective, irresponsible, immature and corrupt.⁷⁷ In response, the political leaders tried to indoctrinate the officer corps and harassed the military leaders. They intervened in spheres that the ABRI, or for that matter every military of the world, regarded as its own.⁷⁸ Consequently, ABRI officers banded together to reject subordination to civilian authority.

By 1965, there was a rapid expansion of the PKI. The power of the PKI even exceeded that of the president in some cases. So before long, there was an equilibrium of power between the PKI and the ABRI. But the PKI was afraid that if the ABRI continued to increase its base of power,⁷⁹ the PKI may lose its stake in controlling the domestic politics of the nation. One of the steps which the PKI took to counter the ABRI's power was to create a fifth armed force⁸⁰ of armed peasants and workers which would serve in conjunction with the conventional armed forces. Soekarno supported this move, and

⁷⁷Sundhaussen, U., "The Military : Structure, Procedures and Effects on Indonesian Society," in Karl D. Jackson and Lucian W. Pye, Political Power and Communications in Indonesia, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1978, p. 45.

⁷⁸Even President Soekarno did not hesitate to instigate minor military mutinies to undercut his political opposition. Olsen, op. cit. p. 189.

⁷⁹The ABRI is in one sense a people's force because of the nature of its formation. The ABRI has the mandate of the people.

⁸⁰The four forces under the ABRI are the Army, Navy, Air Force and Police.

China's Premier Zhou Enlai offered to supply arms for the proposed people's force. The ABRI mounted strong opposition to this initiative to protect its corporate interests. This was another milestone in the fall of Soekarno and his guided democracy.

Soekarno's final fall was precipitated by the attempted coup of September 30, 1965, when a communist-supported rebel force staged a coup with the collaboration of 2 battalions of the army and the air force. The communists and the communist front members murdered six generals in the attempted coup. Soekarno did not make any attempt to try the rebels. Rather, he was quoted as saying that 'that' sort of thing tends to happen in a revolution. However, the murder of the generals provoked a violent anti-communist reaction among the general masses and among the ABRI. Soekarno was seriously ill at the time, and he apparently underestimated Soeharto as an opponent. After the bloody extermination of the PKI and the purge of pro-Soekarno sympathizers in the armed forces, Soekarno was left with no support. He was gradually maneuvered into a position of political impotence. On March 11, 1966, he was obliged to turn over supreme authority to Soeharto to restore order. By March 1967, the MPRS stripped him of all political power and made Soeharto the acting president. The regime of Soekarno and the era of guided democracy had come to an end.

3. Economic Factors

Indonesia's economy during the era of Soekarno was wrecked by ever-increasing inflation and a huge foreign debt. At the end of Soekarno's regime in 1966, earnings from exports were exceeded by debt service obligations by more than US\$ 100 million.⁸¹ The condition of other sectors of the Indonesian economy was similarly poor. There was a huge deficiency of basic needs of life like food, shelter and clothing. In an address shortly before the September 30, 1965 coup, President Soekarno's address reflects a picture of the situation. He said:

(I have) issued a challenge to the Supreme Advisory Council: My challenge was; Anyone among you capable of lowering prices in a short period....I will make a cabinet minister in charge of prices.⁸²

Dr.J.Panglaykim, a leading Indonesian economist, commented that the economy was brought to that situation by a lack of realism on behalf of the ruler(s) who had the habit of subordinating the needs of the nation's economy to their political ambitions. Constant turnovers and changes of cabinets precipitated huge amounts of expenditures that were desperately needed elsewhere. In this crisis Soekarno pursued "risky" foreign adventures, like the confrontational campaign against Dutch-held West New Guinea and Malaysia. Also,

⁸¹The Budget deficit in 1954 was Rp. 3.6 billion, in 1958 Rp. 9.7 billion and in 1962 over 16 billion see Bunge, F.M. (ed), op. cit, p. 55.

⁸²Quarterly Economic Review, October 1965.

Soekarno announced revolutionary expansionism in South East Asia in concert with Peking. As a result, domestic economic stabilization and development efforts went by the board. Soekarno tried to divert the public attention by an unrealistic Eight-Year National Development Program in August 1960 (Deklarasi Ekonomi). The Indonesian economy faced rapidly mounting prices, however.⁸³ The food crisis was so acute that hunger and near-starvation were daily worries. People on the islands had to survive by eating "Ketela" (like Cassava), a poisonous root. According to many newspaper reports, people even started to sell their women, including young girls from North Sumatra, to undisclosed location abroad.⁸⁴ This practice stemmed primarily from poverty.

In the first few months after the September 30 coup there was little indication that meaningful economic reforms were underway. New reforms were addressed, but were quickly nullified in a whirlwind of conflicting economic directives, bureaucratic strangulation, rapidly rising prices, and by the poorly prepared introduction of a new rupiah⁸⁵ at a rate of one to 1,000 old rupiahs. This last measure was expected to enhance the government's supervisory powers over the money supply. In effect, the opposite occurred. The ensuing

⁸³Vander Kroef, J.M. Indonesia After Sukarno, University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver, 1971, pp. 156-157.

⁸⁴Ibid, p. 160

⁸⁵Indonesia currency

financial chaos, famine, shortage of daily commodities and other basic needs accelerated Soekarno's slide from power and Soeharto's ascendance.

V. PANCASILA DEMOCRACY : THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

A. EVOLUTION

In March, 1966 President Soekarno transferred power to General Soeharto by giving him supreme authority to restore law and order throughout the country. The following year, the People's Consultative Assembly (the MPR) appointed Soeharto as the president of the country. Soeharto formally took over power in March 1968. This transfer of power expressed the determination of the people to bring about a total correction and change of the past errors such as the deviation from Pancasila and the 1945 constitution. One of many dilemmas Soeharto faced was the question of what political format he would adopt that would best suit the development of Indonesia. On the one hand the political format must satisfy various new order proponents. On the other hand Soeharto needed to cope with the political difficulties that he inherited from Soekarno. To provide a suitable solution, Soeharto developed a new political format based on "musyawarah-mufakat" (deliberation until consensus). This would hopefully give stability and development to the nation.

The new political format was the democracy pancasila developed by Soeharto. The system was influenced by the environment in which Soeharto passed his early life. Soeharto

spent his boyhood in a village. The administrative structure of the village was quite democratic as it was based on traditional Indonesian values and culture.⁸⁶ The traditional administrative system of Indonesian villages were based on a system (musyawarah: the deliberation) which is comparable to pancasila democracy. So it was expected that a system introduced by Soeharto would also be democratic (at the same time the people did not expect the ideas of individualism, liberalism, capitalism, Marxism, or communism from Soekarno, but a system based on pancasila and the 1945 constitution). Accordingly the new political format was the integration of democratic desires of Indonesian people with the national its interests.

The birth of "surat perintah 11 Maret" (the 11th March order) from Soekarno to Soeharto marked the starting point of the New Order. It was supported by the people and the ABRI. In May 1966, several major political parties and the important administrative bodies signed the charter for the formation of the Pancasila Front.⁸⁷ The New Order received support from

⁸⁶See the life history of this leader in Gafur, A, Pak Harto : Pandangan dan Harapannya, Pustaka Kartini, Jakarta, 1990.,p.276.

⁸⁷The Pancasila Front consists of the political parties that ruled during the Parliamentary and Guided Democracy period and also mass groups, such as NU (the Muslim Scholar's League), PSII (the Islamic Confederation), Parkindo (Indonesian Christian Party), Catholic Party, IPKI (the Association of the Supporters of Indonesian Independence), Muhammadiyah, SOKSI (the Union of Indonesian Socialist Workers), and Gasbindo. The PNI became member later. For

all classes of people including the student front. The basis of the struggle for the new order was the national ideology, and the 1945 constitution which was drawn up to serve the greater interests of the suffering people.⁸⁸ This attitude was reflected in the Soeharto Cabinet, which was named Ampera (Amanat Penderitaan Rakyat - the message of the people's suffering).

The determination to implement pancasila and the 1945 constitution was evidenced by many seminars and symposia after the March Order was announced. The terminology of pancasila democracy arose in scientific discussions in ABRI seminar-II in Bandung in August 1966. This seminar formulated Pancasila Democracy as a means of upholding the constitutional state. It was not individual interests, but on the interests of all groups of people and the greater interests of the society and the nation as a whole. These were to be determined through "musyawarah-mufakat" (deliberation until consensus).⁸⁹

The concepts developed in the ABRI Seminar-II served as the bases for implementing the programs of Soeharto's Ampera Cabinet. The main program of this cabinet was to restore the political and economic stability in the country. Soeharto

details see Gafur, A., op.cit. p. 268.

⁸⁸See Noto Susanto, N. (ed), Tercapainya Konsensus Nasional, 1966-69, Balai Pustaka, Jakarta, 1991, p. 30.

⁸⁹Noto Susanto, op. cit., p.31.

correctly identified what to address first. He encouraged Indonesian political leaders to build the foundation for political and economic stability. This was greatly accelerated with the help of foreign aid. Twelve years later Soeharto noted as follows:

We were aware that the deviation from philosophy and ideology, pancasila and the 1945 constitution just brought disaster to the nation. And we are determined to bring back the nation's desire that is pancasila and the 1945 constitution. This determination inspired the birth and way of the New Order. New Order was for making correction of all the deviations....Philosophy, ideology and the constitution of Indonesia profess democracy concept clearly and explicitly not only in political aspects but also in economic aspects. The state was built not only based on the people's sovereignty but also for the people's welfare. These were characteristics and contents of Pancasila Democracy.⁹⁰

During the last twenty seven years, from the Ampera Cabinet up to Pembangunan VI Cabinet (the Sixth Development Cabinet), Pancasila democracy has provided positive results, and created stability in the political and economic system. This was possible because of strict adherence to the state ideology and to the 1945 constitution. Democracy Pancasila was not something grafted from somewhere else, but rather it was developed from cultural requirements of Indonesia.

⁹⁰State address of President Soeharto on August 16, 1978.

B. PANCASILA DEMOCRACY

1. Principles of Pancasila Democracy

The term pancasila democracy has been used since 1963 when it was first used by the MPRS (the provisional MPR). Pancasila democracy is a special form of democracy developed and used by president Soeharto which is based on the state ideology of Indonesia.

Western democracy evolved in a situation marked by the competition for power between powerful individuals. Western democracy was developed through struggle of social classification and struggle for power among different influential groups like rich and the church. The first developed feudal, but power which ultimately developed was capitalism.⁹¹ This system brought about division among the general population based on their support on different political parties. On the contrary the purpose of pancasila democracy was to unite the people of the nation, to live in harmony and in peace. One of the principle of pancasila is to provide the same status to everybody, to share national burdens equally, to live with mutual cooperation, and to respect each other.

Pancasila democracy is clearly not based on individualism but rather on the Indonesian concept of "family" and mutual cooperation. As a result, individual freedom does

⁹¹See Chapter II.

not get absolute priority. Freedom means, from the Indonesian perspective, shared responsibility for national interests. Pancasila is a system and mechanism which preserves and channelize differences of opinion. As a result groups with differences of opinion will not collide with each other, but rather will meet at a harmonious point through "musyawarah-mufakat" (deliberation until consensus).

In pancasila democracy, the universality of democratic ideals are integrated with the life aspirations of the Indonesians. Life inspiration in turn is inspired by the family spirit. Therefore in this system of democracy there will be no 'majority dominance' or 'minority tyranny.' The concept of majority and minority is missing in "familyism" which is based on such traditional values as "silih asah, silih asih, dan silih asuh," meaning "teach, love, and care for each other." In this system people are not concerned about the result of any general election. The outcome of elections are a victory for the people as a whole. What the Indonesians believe is that by participating in a general election they have moved the nation one step forward towards development and the maturity of political life under the guidance of pancasila democracy.

There is not the case in pancasila democracy. The term pancasila democracy means not only that power is in the hands of the people, but that power itself is derived from national customs. This customary power of the people developed

Indonesian Customary democracy. In this system the principle of state power is based on "trias politica."⁹² Power is shared by the legislative, the executive, and the judiciaries (see Section C of this Chapter). It addresses all aspects of life in broad areas, like 'customary law,' public morality and idealism, religion and art, and 'wisdom and fairness.'

Another unique characteristics of Pancasila democracy is the sovereignty of only one god. This special aspect of pancasila democracy is absent in any other kind of democracy practiced in the present day world. On the other hand the church is separated from politics. One of the five pillars of pancasila is belief in only one supreme god. This aspect was introduced with a view to gain divine help. Indonesians, irrespective of faith or religion, strongly believe in this aspect. In addition it teaches dedication to any assigned job. They believe that any good work is paid by the supreme god. As a result Indonesians do not expect any reward but rather wait for the blessing of god. For example, before performing any job at the personal or governmental level Indonesians start with "demi Allah," meaning "for the sake of Allah". Similar words are said by the believers of other religion and faiths. This aspect is mentioned in Article 29 of Chapter XI in the 1945 constitution. One of the reasons of failure of

⁹²"Trias Politica" is the principle of sharing power of three bodies, i.e. legislative, executive and judiciaries.

parliamentary democracy was the absence of this aspect in the system.

2. Five Pillars of Pancasila

The determination to build a system (pancasila democracy) that would lead Indonesia to democratic rule was developed from Indonesia. Nobody had imposed any new form of democracy, rather the pancasila democracy is a way of life as well as a state principle. Soeharto developed the system of Pancasila Democracy from the customary laws of Indonesian culture. In his 17 June 1986 speech, he stressed that pancasila is the single most important principle of life. Pancasila also strengthens the unity and integrity of a complex nation like Indonesia where there are hundreds of ethnicities and many religions. Soeharto also mentioned that if Indonesians do not strictly adhere to the principles of pancasila the nation would be divided into many nations.

Pancasila is the guideline of the people's lives. Keeping this very specific guideline in mind, Indonesians can restrain themselves from individual interests as well as be inspired to promote collective interests. It teaches self-control. Here self-control means capability for determining the speed and continuity to work for the betterment of the nation. On the other hand, it teaches the lesson of giving lowest priority to individual interests. At the same time it

is an obligation to the society. To fulfill individual interests one is expected to look at "the top" that is to look at those who are successful in life. This inspires Indonesia to develop and progress.⁹³

The five pillars of Pancasila are as follows according to the 1945 constitution.

- (1) The principle of belief in Only one supreme God.
- (2) The principle of just and civilized humanity
- (3) The principle of Indonesian unity
- (4) The principle of democracy guided by the wisdom in the deliberation of the representatives
- (5) The principle of social justice for the people of Indonesia.

To evaluate the Pancasila democracy one must know detailed aspects of these five pillars. In the following paragraphs I will discuss different views on them.

The first principle, belief in only one supreme god, teaches self-control in the form of piety to Almighty God and to respect each other irrespective of his/her religion and faith. In Indonesia there is no place for confrontation over religion and divinity. There is no coercion to follow any particular religion. Everyone is free to practice their own beliefs. At the same time there are no anti-religious

⁹³Based on the decree of MPR no. II/MPR/ 1978, dated March 22, 1978. This decree provides guidelines for comprehension and practical application of Pancasila.

activity. Indonesians strive to develop cooperation among people of different religions to build "inner" and "outer" well being, which is demanded by all religions. Since there is no state religion people can perform his/her own religion without fear.

The second principle, just and civilized humanity, means that Indonesian as well as other nationalities are placed in a very respectful place with full dignity. Since human beings are placed in a very respectful place, no one is expected to perform any unjust deed only because of his/her power, knowledge, and property. This principle emphasizes equal standing, equal rights, and obligation to fellow men, loving (respecting) each other, developing consideration for others. Coupled with the first principle, it also teaches not to be high-handed with other peoples and to uphold humanitarian values. The most important impact of this principle is to teach all human beings to have courage and to rely on truth and justice. As a result, Indonesians consider themselves part of greater world-society. Therefore they promote an attitude of mutual respect and cooperation with the rest of mankind.

The third principle of pancasila compels Indonesians to place cohesion, unity interests and safety on nation and the state above personal or group interests. In other words it helps to determine the willingness to make sacrifices for the greater interests of the nation as well as for the state.

Unity means attitudes to love country and nation; one's nation is the Indonesian Nation and one's country, Indonesia.

Self-control is also a guideline for executing the fourth principle, i.e. democracy guided by the wisdom in the deliberation of representatives, that is people's sovereignty. The deliberation of representatives is performed by representatives who are elected in general elections. This principle emphasizes decision making for common interests and consensus. The deliberation must be surrounded by those having brotherly attitudes towards one another. Decisions reached through deliberation are accepted with goodwill and with a sense of responsibility. The decisions of the people are carried by their respective representatives. The representatives are expected to be faithful to the people, should have self-control, a sense of responsibility and discipline. Lastly they should be faithful to the decision made in deliberation through consensus.

The guideline for implementing the fifth principle, i.e. social justice for the people of Indonesia is based on the principle of "helping one another." Noble actions should be increased to reflect the attitude and atmosphere of the family and of "gotong royong." This principle also implies that there will be balance between rights and obligations. The rights of other people must be respected, avoiding the attitude of exploiting others. Indonesians are not expected to do something that is injurious to public interests. Also

expected are those deeds that materialize their efforts to realize an equal degree of ability and social justice.

Social justice has a broader meaning in addition to that explained in the previous paragraphs. It includes, in a broader sense, challenges for the people to achieve education, welfare, status, and protection. Every citizen will have the same treatment under the law irrespective of their social status. Elites have to consider social control, public criticism and also the formal control which is called "administrative control" and justice.

Thus the guidelines for implementing pancasila are based on their capability of self-control. Implementation of pancasila is the responsibility of every citizen and it starts at the individual level. The greater aim of pancasila is the overall development of individuals. Because the nation consists of groups of people, groups consist of families and families consist of individuals. Likewise it is the responsibility of every individual to make efforts at his level to develop the nation.

From what is discussed above, we see that pancasila embraces all aspects of life making it a multi-faceted and complex system. Each of the five pillars of pancasila democracy consists of certain principles. These principles are deduced and induced by the norms of Indonesian life. Here is the difference between democracy pancasila and western and

other forms of democracy. The natural meaning is connected with mass development and their culture.

C. SHARE OF POWER

According to the 1945 constitution the lion's share of power is given to the president. The president is elected and appointed by the members of the MPR. Half of the members of the MPR are from the DPR. The president executes what the MPR determines for the nation. Although the president is elected and appointed by the MPR, the president enjoys enormous power. The president cannot be expelled from his position. The DPR, through special session, can admonish the president. Convention of a special session against the president is not easily accomplished. In other words, it can be said that once a president is elected and appointed by the MPR, he is the highest power and authority in the state. The appointment of GBHN (the Guidelines of State Policy) is the result of consensus within a group which is represented by the MPR (People's Consultative Assembly).

As mentioned above, the people's sovereignty is executed by MPR. As the highest state institution, it has a very important role to play. As an institution which fully exercises the sovereign rights of Indonesian people, the MPR should always reflect the aspiration and the wishes of the people in all its decisions or decrees. And as the holder of the highest power in the state, the assembly appoints the

president and vice-president and determines the GBHN for implementation by the President. According to the 1945 Constitution, the people's sovereignty is distributed to the Highest Council of the State. These are the Presidency, the DPR (the House of People's Representative), the DPA (the Supreme Advisory Council), the Mahkamah Agung (the Supreme Court) and the BPK (the State Audit Board).

The members of the DPR are from the people and are elected by the people. It has the function of exercising control over the conduct of the administration by the President. The mechanism of this control by the DPR constitutes a means to prevent constitutional deviation or deviations from the people's wishes. The DPR has influence over the political system of the country. The DPR can not be dissolved by the president. In order to implement the policies formulated by the DPR, the president adheres strictly to the policies of the DPR, In other words the DPR and the President are complementary.

Following Article 16 of the 1945 Constitution and Act No. 3 of 1967 as amended by Act No. 4 of 1978, the functions of the Supreme Advisory Council (DPA) are to answer any questions that the President may ask in relation to the affairs of State, including questions on political, economic, socio-cultural and military affairs. Conversely, the Council may submit recommendations or express its views on any matter of national importance. Members of the DPA are nominated by the

DPR and appointed by the President for a term of five years. Certain conditions must be met to qualify for appointments.

The Supreme Court (the MA) is the judicial arm of the state and exist beside the legislative and the executive branches. It enjoys an independent status in the politico-administrative fabric. It was not until 1968 that the restructuring of the Supreme Court was completed to meet the conditions set out in the 1945 Constitution, i.e., to be free from government intervention in the exercise of justice. In 1970 a law was enacted that laid down the basic principle of Indonesia's judicial powers.⁹⁴

The functions of the BPK are outlined in Article 23 of the 1945 Constitution. Its main function is to conduct official examinations of government financial accounts. The findings of the Board are submitted to the DPR, which approves the government budget. In his annual state address on August 16, the President reports to the DPR on the Government's performance during the past fiscal year. Detailed accounts of government revenues and expenditures and a full report on the progress achieved is contained in the supplement to the presidential speech.⁹⁵

⁹⁴See Indonesia 1993, An Official Handbook, Department of Information Republic of Indonesia, pp.56-57.

⁹⁵See Indonesia 1993, An Official Handbook, Department of Information Republic of Indonesia, pp. 56-57.

Pancasila democracy requires and inspires a harmonious relationship between the executive and the legislature, and reaches decisions through consensus. This results in a balance between conflict and consensus. To achieve this, the 1945 constitution emphasizes that there be "checks and balance" between the government and the house of representatives. Neither the government (the executive) nor the DPR can dissolve each other.⁹⁶

The essence of pancasila democracy is that sovereignty is in the hands of the people. This require that the Indonesian people view their aspirations and will with honesty and sincerity. Freedom of speech does not mean unlimited freedom, but rather freedom of expression is limited to those acts that bring good to the nation. Freedom of expression was misinterpreted during the era of Soekarno, especially during the era of parliamentary democracy. As a result one saw the development of hundreds of parties resulting in chaos, mismanagement, a destroyed economy, poverty and ultimately the failure of the regime. The history of freedom of expression in Indonesia was very disappointing. To compensate the New Order was introduced by General Soeharto. According to the new order there will be only three parties in the country reflecting the people's voice. The parties are the GOLKAR (the ruling party),

⁹⁶Wilopo, Zaman Pemerintahan Partai-partai dan Kelemahannya-kelemahannya, Yayasan Idayu, Jakarta, 1976, p.66.

the PDI, and the PPP. The GOLKAR is called the functional group since it functions for the ruling government.

The state administration system is based on deliberation.⁹⁷ This aspect is written in Article 18 of the 1945 constitution. Although Article 4 Clause 1 states that the president holds governmental power, article 18 obliges the president to distribute governmental power to different regions. State governmental power is exercised by the president with his cabinet ministers. In a similar way regional power is exercised by the regional governor (for the province) and regional regents (mayors) who is regulated by Ordinance.⁹⁸

The regions enjoy Daerah Autonomi (regional autonomy). These regional governments are composed of the Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah (DPR-D: the regional representative assembly). On the other hand territorial administration has four tiers. The first level has 24 provinces and there are some 3 provincial level special territories. In short, sovereignty is distributed from the central government to the village government. The protection of national sovereignty is the responsibility of every level and of every citizen of the nation. In this way pancasila democracy ensures people's

⁹⁷See chapter III of this thesis.

⁹⁸See section F of Chapter III.

participation in state's activities. As a result, a sense of participation has developed among the peoples.

The distribution of sovereignty does not allow any disturbances in the unity of the nation (the third principle of Pancasila). This sovereignty is not without some degree of control. In other words, distributed sovereignty is maintained by "checks and balances." Any decree (legislation) passed by a certain level must be approved by next higher level before it is executed. This is done because the lower levels of government are aware of their own problems and probable solutions. So that this can not be exploited by any level of government, it need to be approved by the higher level in the province or the state. The higher level, by controlling the legislation, ensures that no legislation is passed that goes against the interests of the people and does not counter national interests.

As mentioned above in this Chapter, according to the Article 1 and Article 2 of the 1945 constitution, the MPR performs the deeds to fully safeguard people's sovereignty. The word "fully" has a broad meaning in the constitution. It does not mean absolute responsibility. The constitution has distributed power to other government bodies. For example, the 1945 constitution gives the MPR the authority to evaluate the constitution. But by presidential decree of July 5, 1959⁹⁹

⁹⁹This decree reinstated the 1945 constitution which at that was a provisional constitution.

this authority was modified to allow not "evaluation" but actual changes in the constitution. The decree was necessary because during the eras of parliamentary and guided democracy, Soekarno deviated from the 1945 constitution. But the MPR cannot deviate from the constitution while performing duties, as was written in the preamble of the 1945 constitution.

The MPR applies this power to develop economic policy as well as to determine guidelines for state policy, and submits it to the president and to the legislative body. Similar activities or procedural chains are maintained at every administrative level.

The 1945 constitution does not delineate power of the judiciary and police because these two bodies are included in the executive power of the president. Arguments in favor of this are that the maintenance of security is one of the most important obligations of the president. For executing these duties, the president is empowered by the constitution to form state bodies for both police and judiciary, or he can place both of these under other departments. Authority over the police and the judiciary is in the hands of the president. Ordinances published by the president act as broader guidelines for their duties with respect to internal security.

D. POLITICAL LIFE

Soeharto used his farsightedness in overcoming the weaknesses Soekarno faced during the era of the parliamentary and the guided democracy. He banned the PKI, and the relationship with Communist China declined. Soeharto assured the ABRI of protecting its due corporate interests, thus gaining its support. Soeharto could ensure people the minimum standard of life, could attract the ABRI¹⁰⁰ for him, and banned the PKI. The political system came to a stability. In this stable situation, in a meeting with MPRs, the political format was determined and declared by Soeharto.

The success of the new order lies mainly in the support of the military. The participation of the military in domestic politics was not unusual in the history of Indonesia. Since the formation of the Tentara Nasional Indonesia (TNI-Indonesian Military National) in the revolutionary period, the military played an important role in politics. Freedom from the Dutch colonialism was the direct contribution of the military, along with the civilian population. Immediately after liberation civil administration was practically held by the newly formed military; This was later handed over to the civil authority. As a result, from the very beginning of the formation of the ABRI, it was a socio-political force. This aspect of the Indonesian military differs from other

¹⁰⁰Soeharto himself was also a leading freedom fighter and national hero.

countries. Other examples of the same kind are the Turkish military and the Burmese military in the contemporary world.

One characteristic of the new format is the dominant role of the ABRI in politics. The ABRI now has a "dwi-fungsi" or dual function. This nomenclature by the Soeharto government gave recognition to the active political and social role of the military. The explanation behind this was that since the freedom of Indonesia was a result of struggle of the military, they have the right to shape the destiny of the nation. The nation has not formed them; rather, the military has given shape to nation. By accepting the dual function of the ABRI as a reality of life in Indonesian society, it can be said that the military role will continue. The question is how far should the military exercise this role in Indonesian politics.

Although the Indonesian military is charged with dwi-fungsi, the military itself do not the single most important power. Apparently the ABRI may seem to have dictatorial power. Rather the ABRI is a socio-political force where participation in the national political system is yet another role in addition to its conventional defense role. The ABRI's distinct role in the political system stems from its role in the war of liberation and subsequently in the capability of handling national crises of any kind.

Due to the active cooperation of the ABRI in the governmental decision-making process it led to success in political developments since 1968 when it was given

recognition as a socio-political force. The existing GOLKAR is also in support of this dual role of the ABRI. The dual function of the ABRI has given it a direct access to development works, thus utilizing its huge manpower. To run its normal day-to-day operations it does not depend only on government budget. The ABRI maintains its own economic activities; for example, air-transportation, dockyard, assembling cars, cement production, and alike. The profit from these economic enterprises is additional to what comes through normal budgetary channel. These economic activities have contributed significantly in the national economy.

Another characteristic of the new format is the role of civil politicians. The role of other political parties, other than GOLKAR, are not very significant in society. The civilian technocrats and the bureaucrats along with the young groups who are made the representatives of the GOLKAR have significant influence in formulating national policies and in implementing them. The GOLKAR is partner of the ABRI in politics. The other two political parties are the PPP and the PDI. For a democratic system their participation in politics is always encouraged by GOLKAR.

Nevertheless, the role of civil politicians or political parties is still weak. The strength of association of the ABRI and the GOLKAR on one side, vis-a-vis political parties on the other side led to anxiety for the some persons who suggest that if this will create a monolithic political system.

In the 1977 general election the GOLKAR won 246 seats out of the total contested seats of 364. It could additionally count on support from 100 appointed members from the armed forces and perhaps as many as 15 more appointed members representing various functional and regional constituents. After the 1977 election it gained more power than before.¹⁰¹ This trend of continuous victory of the GOLKAR since its inception in 1967 confirms the support of people for the present government.

Political developments under Soeharto show the lessening of radical behavior in politics. Radical emotion ran high, especially when KAMI, KAPPI and KASI, demanded the Soeharto government to bring Soekarno to justice. Soeharto avoided the emotional demand calmly and firmly. In addition, there was success of embracing the radical exponents. For example, radical groups were made as the members of the parliament.¹⁰² Therefore when students demonstrated, their unruly behavior could easily be handled by Komando Pertahanan Keamanan dan Ketertiban (KOPKAMIIB- the Operational Command for the Restoration of Security and Order). And also several movements like the anti-corruption movement, "white group" movement which complains about the general election process, could also

¹⁰¹See Bunge, F.M. (ed), op.cit. pp. 199-200.

¹⁰²As quoted by Herbert Feith, "Soeharto's Search for a Political Format", Indonesia, 1968, in Alfian, Pemikiran dan Perubahan Politik Indonesia, PT. Gramedia, Jakarta, 1986, p. 53.

be handled easily.¹⁰³ The KOPKAMTIB is directly in the hand of president. The director of this very specialized organization has direct communication with the president making the decision process faster. The successful handling of radical groups through KOPKAMTIB shows the strong executive power in the hands of Soeharto to handle the political pressures in society. This power of controlling anti-government movements or other forms of violence helps directly in maintaining the stability of national politics.

The new political format created by Soeharto in 1968 showed its success in political system, at once the key was the strengthening of the dual function of the ABRI. The dual function gave the ABRI a legitimized and major role in the Indonesian political system. In addition there was integration and consolidation of the ABRI with the GOLKAR giving a strong base for president's executive power. The weakness of political parties made that base stronger.

Formation of new political format led to political stability, while through the strengthening of political base, the ABRI and GOLKAR have given more effective executive power to the government. The achievement of this kind of success was never possible during the era of parliamentary and guided democracy under Soekarno.

¹⁰³Tomasoa, P., Sedjarah Pergerakan Pemuda Indonesia, Karyaco Jakarta, 1972, pp.177-345. And also Budiman, A., Portrait of a Young Indonesia , Looking at his Surrounding, International Asian Forum, volume 4, 1973, pp. 76-80.

VI. PROSPECTS FOR DEMOCRACY

A. TRENDS

Indonesia experienced a series of political transformations after independence. Soekarno developed an Indonesian version of parliamentary democracy. In this era political power was mainly in the hands of political leaders. But due to a lack of consensus among political leaders it failed. After the failure of parliamentary democracy he changed the political system to guided democracy. In this era there were mainly two political powers namely, the ABRI and the PKI. Soekarno acted as the figure head who only maintained balance between these two. He, ultimately, failed to give stability to his regime. After nine years of the guided democracy era it also failed when there was an abortive coup on September 30, 1965 where six generals were killed.

After both parliamentary and guided democracy failed to prove their worth the supporters of pancasila democracy demand a new order. The new order under Soeharto has successfully been implemented over the last twenty seven years. This long period of survival of pancasila democracy proves that Indonesian have support for both pancasila democracy and its developer cum implementor, Soeharto. During this twenty seven years Indonesia has gradually stepped up its development.

From the development of pancasila democracy Indonesia had six cabinets (from the Ampera Cabinet to the 6th Development Cabinet). During this time Indonesia has seen more political stability than it saw before. It has also revitalized the 1945 constitution. As Soeharto notes in his August 16, 1978 address:

political stability is raised because the people's aspiration and people's need and thought is accommodated by the existing democratic channel. In the complex society of Indonesia, the aspiration, will, and thought is various and many. But we realize that democracy is for better life in order to get the strong togetherness, not reverse. That's why achieving the harmony and consensus is very important.

From the speech above, it is felt that it is difficult to build a political system that matches traditional ideals. But Soeharto could do it. This ideal is pancasila democracy which will remain upright because the democratic social intercourse of the Indonesian people is still alive up to the village level.

Democratic ideals are universal in character. Each nation learns it from some other nation and practices it after definite modifications according to local needs, cultures, and norms. Indonesia was also not an exception. Soeharto modified democracy according to the needs, diverse culture and norms of Indonesia. Democracy cannot survive if it does not consider the culture of a nation. Parliamentary and guided democracy failed, among many reasons, due to this. The development of democracy needs careful consideration of national interests

and culture which ensure progression. Otherwise, democracy declines. Soeharto ensured harmony between freedom and responsibility and the consensus of the leaders. This has given stability to his regime, while the lack of it caused the fall of Soekarno.

Pancasila democracy is characterized by harmony more than freedom¹⁰⁴ This is a system and mechanism that accommodates and channelizes differences of opinion, so that diverse opinions will not collide but will reach a harmony. In addition, since pancasila teaches the people to learn to put national interests above personal interests, there is a minimal level of diversification of opinions.

There was always a mismatch between consensus and conflict which Soekarno could not handle through his parliamentary and guided forms of democracy. Pancasila is successful in this regard. Pancasila gave stability to the national political system including minor details like transition of power from one leader to another leader. Based on pancasila, conflicts are also welcomed by the government. But conflicts must not be unrestrained and must remain within the limitations of national interests. Pancasila restrained conflicts up to certain level, which allows people to stimulate creativity. With continuous and uncontrolled conflict the society is damaged. Pancasila maintains a balance between limited and

¹⁰⁴As addressed by president Soeharto, see Gafur, A., op.cit., p.273.

unlimited conflict. Consensus is developed by taming conflict, and society reaps the benefit.

Finally, pancasila democracy has the capability of increasing the political awareness of the people. Important aspects of participation were missing under Soekarno's political system. Soeharto introduced general elections.¹⁰⁵ General elections in Indonesia are conducted like ceremonial parties where three contestants (the Golkar, the PPP and the PDI) and Indonesian citizens participate with full enthusiasm. As mentioned before in section B.1. of Chapter V, the people believe that the victory of any party is their victory, and that their participation led the country another step towards democracy and development. The people's enthusiasm and the overall security during general elections proves the quality of democracy in Indonesia. It is also believed that the next elections will bring more success to pancasila democracy.

What is discussed above clearly shows the success of Soeharto in running pancasila democracy. New problems which may still require solutions, although the problems regarding pancasila democracy are small. In short, it may be argued that Soeharto's new political format achieving political stability and provided a mechanism to solve problems through consensus.

¹⁰⁵Every five years there were general election under pancasila democracy. This can be used as a political indicator of people's participation in pancasila and how best the peoples exercised their democratic rights.

B. PROSPECT

Political systems are very dynamic in the post-colonial developing countries. Forecasting the probable future of any government system may be misleading. It can only be assessed from a study of past trend of any country. So is the case with pancasila democracy in Indonesia.

It may be quite difficult to argue that the success of the new order in the hands of Soeharto is the starting point for political stability in Indonesia. Pancasila has gained the trust of the people, signifying that pancasila will be continuing as state political system. There are several factors that contributed to the success of pancasila which compels me to comment on its longevity. The first is culture and tradition, especially "musyawarah-mufakat," "rukun," Indonesian teachings and religious beliefs. These factors have been explained in previous chapters. The other factors are the ABRI, social behavior and political culture, the role of young generation and external factors. In the following paragraphs I discuss them one by one to reach a general conclusion.

1. The ABRI

a. Political Participation

A study of civil-military relations in most post-colonial countries, for example, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Burma, Nigeria, and some Latin American countries shows that the armed forces are one of the important factors in political

power. It is also observed that whenever military perquisites are threatened or reduced, interventionist attitude arise. As a result, most governments of developing countries keep the armed forces satisfied, mostly accepting their political role either covertly or overtly. From the Indonesian perspective, the ABRI is recognized as a socio-political force in Soeharto's political system. So it can be argued that the ABRI will support the Pancasila Democracy as it has in the past.

b. Economic Activities

Another way of getting support from the armed forces is to satisfy its economic demand. To satisfy the ABRI president Soeharto has given ample opportunities to the ABRI. ABRI manages its own economic activities, ranging from assembly to shipping and air transportation, not to mention many small economic activities. The profit from these economic activities is in addition to what comes through normal budgetary channels. This has given the ABRI an economic solvency. It has also ensured ABRI's support for Pancasila Democracy. In addition to the economic activities, the government supplies day to day necessities to the ABRI, thus ensuring additional support.

c. "Army of Liberation War"

The ABRI has made a significant contribution to freedom and maintenance of freedom of Indonesia. It has stood firmly in the crucial moment of the nation. For example in September 30, 1965 Coup, it was ABRI who has stabilized the political system, and stabilized law and order situation. Armies contributing in wars of liberation ("Army of liberation war") have a tendency to shape the political destiny of the nation. This is the case of the ABRI, which is fulfilled by the present government. It is expected, therefore, that the ABRI will continue its support for Pancasila Democracy.

2. The Societal Behavior and Political Culture

The Indonesian political system, like that of other developing countries, requires a balance between consensus and conflict. This demands a system that matches the political culture of Indonesia. A problem that developing countries often face is the reality that political society includes elite groups that do not truly reflect political ideals of the system. To make a framework is comparatively easier than implement one. Political behavior is closely related to political culture. Any system that does not fulfil cultural requirements is prone to failure in the course of time. This is what happened to Indonesian parliamentary and guided

democracies. During the Soekarno era the political system lacked harmony, and balance between consensus and conflict.

Nevertheless, knowledge about the existence of the "gap" between political culture and the political system is often a requirement to identify problems. In addition, political development is actually a gradual change in political culture. In the case of Indonesia the development of the new order builds a new political culture based on Indonesian culture and national interests. In doing so Indonesia only adjusts past political behavior for the bigger interests of the nation. This was a requirement to make a balance between consensus and conflict. The prospect of Indonesian political development based on Pancasila depends on how best Indonesia reaches consensus out of conflict.

During the era of Soekarno Indonesia faced bitter experiences namely, unlimited political freedom which led to protracted conflict. As a result Soekarno tried to cut their decisions and made unilateral decisions, which is contrary to the principles of democracy. In recent years many believe that political behavior may be influenced by recently developed anxieties. One of the anxieties developed during the 1977 electoral campaign fanaticism led to "emotional confrontality" that was a characteristics during Soekarno era. Another anxiety developed after the 1987 election. It developed a political trend which can be called "rational persuasive." In this time there was dialogue by the GOLKAR to examine what

developed this political attitude. One aspect of pancasila democracy that may be mentioned here is that the GOLKAR did not suppress the attitude rather tried to find the cause and to reach consensus. During the same election there was another conflict was that if only existing GOLKAR wins the election, the voice of the people in the governmental system may be limited. It seems rational.¹⁰⁶

Therefore, if rational persuasion is successfully developed, the development process of the new political culture will be stimulated. The rational persuasive behavior led the people from different ideology and groups to deliberate rationality. So far, it can be said that beside the societal anxiety, including governmental, national anxiety may not appear again.

3. The Role of the Younger Generation

More than fifty percent of the Indonesian population is young. Naturally, the development of pancasila depends greatly on the role of this young generation. It also means that the role of this generation in the future political system will be enormous. If this generation is not taken care of, the future of pancasila democracy may be unstable. If they are not politically groomed they will fail to maintain and uphold Indonesian culture, traditions, and ultimately pancasila. Soeharto could anticipate this important factor.

¹⁰⁶See Alfian, op. cit., pp.81-93.

The government has embraced the younger generation by forming different groups among them. The "Kosgoro" (a component of the professional group), and SOKSI (union of Indonesian Socialist Workers Organization) are two examples. In addition a few representatives of this generation are made members of GOLKAR and parliament. These aspects of pancasila have inspired them to act with responsibility.

4. External Factors

Soekarno was gradually heading towards communism. When the PKI proposed a fifth Army, Chinese premier Zhou Enlai agreed to supply arms for them. In addition, Soekarno had an expansionist attitude. He undertook programs like "crush Malaysia," sent guerrilla forces to Malaysia (during the premiership of Tengku Abdurahman), and had conflicts with neighboring countries. Soekarno also distanced himself from the United Nations. All these antagonized the people of Indonesia because by tradition Indonesians are peace loving. Therefore Soekarno lost support from the nation as a whole. Not only that, due to expansionism, the Soekarno regime did not have the external aid which Indonesia needed most for its survival. After taking over, Soeharto reversed the above mentioned phenomena. He strongly managed the internal and external economy, and opened the door for foreign aid. Thus,

he prevented the forthcoming famine and gained peoples' support.

Since assuming power, Soeharto has gradually and continuously led the nation to development. It is still going on. This will result in continuing support of the people for pancasila democracy.

VII. CONCLUSION

Indonesia was under Dutch control for 350 years. As a result typical colonial mentality was prevailing among the people. Yet the leaders at that time were exposed to western democracy. This resulted in a diversity of characteristics among the leaders and the mass population. Since the leaders were exposed to western democracy and were influenced by that, they tried to implement and develop a democratic system in Indonesia. But the people of Indonesia were not ready to accept western democracy as a system of government. Moreover Indonesian culture and tradition did not match Western forms. As a consequence, the attempt to implement Parliamentary and Guided Democracy failed.

Another important stakeholder in the government was the ABRI. Since in these two eras the corporate interest of the ABRI was not fulfilled, they did not like western democracy. The ABRI had made a definite contribution to the freedom of the nation and felt that it had a right to shape the destiny of the nation, but it was neglected. This phenomenon resulted in the failure of both parliamentary and guided democracy.

Since the peoples and the leaders of Indonesia in those two eras were diverse in character and ideology, they did not understand each other. As they were in power Soekarno, Hatta, Ali and Syahrir imposed their thinking on the population.

During the period of parliamentary democracy power was concentrated in the hands of the civilian politicians, especially to those in the legislative bodies of the government. These politicians represented different political and interest groups. Two characteristics were important in the parliamentary democracy era, namely, (a) multi-party system, and (b) the parliamentary system of government. Due to broad ideological differences there were many prevailing parties. There was more conflict than there was consensus. Out of many reasons responsible for failure of the parliamentary democracy the lack of consensus was important. Following the chaos and confusion resulting from ideological differences, Soekarno changed the system into the guided democracy.

On the other hand, during the guided democracy period the parliamentarians rather the parliament became more weak, inefficient, and disfunctional. The state power was then shared by mainly two groups, the ABRI and the PKI, while Soekarno was acted as a mediator. This gave Soekarno a dominant position over the two factions.

In addition to this, the mishandling of the economy by Soekarno brought about disaster for the nation. People remained unfed or malnourished. The government's fall was not unexpected.

The final blow came on September 30, 1965, when two air force battalion supported by the PKI assassinated six top army generals. Soekarno did not take them to task; this created

dissatisfaction among influential ABRI members as well as the people of Indonesia, and Soekarno's regime ultimately came to an end.

Soeharto, after taking power, developed a new system of Indonesian government, the New Order. In this system Soeharto recognized the active role of the ABRI. Power was concentrated within the ABRI and the ruling political party. It helped in reaching consensus. These two major power factors, under the strong guidance of Soeharto, gave stability to Indonesia politics.

In the contemporary period there are many varieties of democracy in practice. Every country practices democracy according to its needs. These are modified as suited their culture. Soeharto did the same; here lies his intelligence and far-sightedness. The people of Indonesia accepted Soeharto as their leader and Pancasila Democracy as their way of life in every aspect of Indonesian life.

The eras of the parliamentary and the guided democracy showed mixed characteristics of modern democracy and tyranny. One of the important characteristics of Soekarno's era was multi-party system. Anybody could legitimately organize and participate in political activities. Thus he ensured the 'national rights' of the people. From this perspective there was no element of "tyranny". On the contrary Soekarno played a role of "mediator" where the PKI and the ABRI were two most important power factors in society. He used, at least tried to

use, the ABRI and the PKI to maintain his power base or to tyrannize over the people. Due to inappropriate handling of the PKI, he was maneuvered to political impotence, however, in addition, Soekarno was heading for some kind of communism. In short it can be concluded that the era of the parliamentary democracy and the guided democracy were a hybrid of Modern (Madisonian) democracy and tyranny.

On the other hand, Soeharto banned most political parties and limited the numbers of political parties to only three including the ruling party (the GOLKAR). This seemed as if that Soeharto did not allow the 'natural right' of the people in exercising their political rights. Rather Soeharto, by limiting the number of political parties, tried to make the people "alike," thus controlling the multifactionalism among the citizens of the country. This, in broader scale does not mean depriving the people of their 'natural rights.' This is just an adjustment of democracy according to its own interests. According to Schumpeter, democracy means a political method or an institutional arrangement for arriving at legislative and administrative decisions where certain individuals have the power to elect people's representatives. Soeharto's pancasila democracy has ensured the individuals' right to elect their representatives through parliamentary and presidential elections every 5 years. Thus, in broader terms, the government of pancasila democracy is government "by the people." And pancasila democracy has legitimized the position

of political leaders. One aspect of pancasila democracy that has been questioned both within and outside Indonesia is the active participation of the ABRI in the country's political system. This can be explained from the perspective of Plato's "zoo" and "the beast" case. Soeharto is successful in using the ABRI in controlling the political activities up to the village level. It can be compared with Plato's "controlling the beast by studying its moods, wants and habits." According to Plato when all individuals are able to do as they choose, the system will create a diverse society of chaos and insubordination. This was the case during the era of Soekarno. Soeharto took the right step in recognizing the socio-political role of the ABRI and by controlling individual's political behavior by limiting the member of political parties. All these aspects of pancasila democracy are somewhat different from liberal democracy. But that was what Indonesia needed.

So it may be argued that other varieties of democracy were not suitable for Indonesia. For that matter any country practicing democracy should adapt democratic principles to their own culture and needs.

The pancasila democracy is a form of democracy that suits the teachings of the Indonesian people. In the near future there seems little need for any modification. It is expected

that pancasila democracy will continue as a system of Indonesian government and as the hope of the Indonesian people in days to come.

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